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ABSTRACT

This study presents a theoretical approach to the study of the emergence of movements for political change. It was postulated that changes outside the university role set --industrial systems development, political, military, scientific competition between the United States and Soviet Union-- brought about the following structural changes within the American university: 1) an increasing involvement of the university in national decisions; 2) an increase in the size of the student body; 3) an increase in the heterogeneity of the student body; 4) an increase in the duration of the student role; and, 5) an increase in the necessity to attend college. The structural changes were used to explain changes in the political expectations and activity of students: 1) rejection of traditional authority in student affairs; 2) desire for voice in decisions making; and, 3) rejection of the concept or image of students as immature citizens. Aggregate data on the structural variables were gathered from national statistical sources and from the archives of the two schools. Data on student expectations and patterns of political activity were gathered from a content analysis of the school papers: The Crimson and the Daily Cardinal. It was found that gradual structural changes started in the forties, were accentuated in the fifties, then followed by abrupt simultaneous changes in student expectations and activity in the sixties; this constituted a genuine student movement for political change. (Author/SBE)

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ABSTRACT

CHANGES IN THE STRUCTURE OF RELATIONS BETWEEN GROUPS AND THE EMERGENCE OF POLITICAL MOVEMENTS: THE STUDENT MOVEMENT AT HARVARD AND WISCONSIN, 1930-1969

By

Shlomo Swirski

This study presents a theoretical approach to the study of the emergence of movements for political change, as well as a preliminary test of some hypotheses derived from the theory, through a study of student political activity at Harvard and Wisconsin from 1930 to 1969.

The theory views society as a conglomeration of social roles, interrelated in role sets. Within each role set there is a certain distribution of decision making power, and each role group has some expectations as to its position within the decision making system. Those expectations may change when given technological, economic, demographic or natural changes outside a given role set bring about changes within the role set--such as the creation of new roles, changes in the power of a role group, changes in the pattern of interaction of one role group with the outside, changes in the composition of a role group, or changes in the centrality of a role to its occupants. Changed expectations of members of a role group with regard to their position in the decision making system of the role set can lead to the

formation of a political movement, depending on the existence of "class consciousness," on the clarity of identifiability of the opponent, the existence of alternative channels for decision making, and the existence of alternative rewards.

The empirical study attempts to specify the relationship between certain structural changes within the American university role set and changes in students' expectations with regard to the position of their role group within the decision making structure of the university. It was postulated that changes which occurred outside the university role set--the increasing complexity and sophistication of the American industrial system and the political-military-scientific competition between the United States and the Soviet Union after the Second World War--brought about the following structural changes within the university role set: an increasing involvement of the university in national decisions, an increase in the size of the student body, an increase in the heterogeneity of the student body, an increase in the duration of the role of student, and an increase in the necessity to attend college. These structural changes were used to explain changes in the political expectations and activity of students. The changed expectations were indicated by students' rejection of the traditional authority exercised by other members of their role set in student affairs; by their desire for a voice in the decision making structure of the university; and by

their rejection of the concept of *in loco parentis* and the image of students as immature citizens on the way.

Two types of data were gathered in the study. For the structural variables, aggregate data were gathered from national statistical sources and from the archives of the two universities. For student expectations and patterns of political activity, data were gathered from a content analysis of the *Crimson* and the *Daily Cardinal*.

The study contains a detailed description of the changes in the structural and attitudinal variables, as well as a historical sketch of student political activity over the forty-year period in the two schools. It establishes that gradual structural changes that began in the late forties and were accentuated in the late fifties were followed by abrupt changes in student political expectations and activity in the early sixties, which increased in the late sixties. Other conclusions drawn from the study were that the changes in students' expectations and political activity in the sixties were precipitated by a series of off campus events, and that the changes in students' expectations and the changes in students' political activity did not occur at separate stages, as specified in the theory; rather, they occurred at the same time and reinforced each other. Finally, the study found that the student political activity of the sixties constituted a genuine student movement, that is, a group of individuals occupying the same social role, who as a group were outside

the decision making structure of their set, who tried to become a prominent part of the decision making structure.

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By

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To my parents

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I would like to express my appreciation to a number of persons who helped me in the execution of this study:

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CHAPTER I

A THEORETICAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

This chapter presents a theoretical approach to the study of the development of movements for political change. Following it will be an attempt to test several hypotheses derived from the theory on the development of the student movement in two American universities--Harvard and Wisconsin, between 1930 and 1969.

The ideas developed below relate specifically to two bodies of literature: the writings on social movements and revolutions, and the literature of role theory. Although I do not present here a systematic critique of these works, it should be pointed out that my approach differs from the above literature in two important respects: the literature on social movements usually focuses on the movement after it comes into being, rather than on the processes that brought about its birth (see, for example, Killian, 1964 and Smelser, 1962). Moreover, social movements are often seen as abnormal or deviant, and the participants, as a consequence, as in some ways different from the rest of

the population (see, for example, the psychological explanations of social movements, such as Cantril, 1963 and Toch, 1965). This study focuses on the processes that precede the birth of a movement, and, furthermore, it regards political movements as a normal consequence of broader processes of social and economic changes. In this sense, the present approach has more in common with the studies of revolutionary change. However, these studies focus on a very small sample of cases--generally the "great" revolutions--French, Russian, Chinese--and generally consist of historical case studies. The results are a confusing variety of often contradictory hypotheses (Eckstein, 1965). Role theory literature served as a source for some of the basic concepts used in this paper, though aside from its conceptual aspects, it did not offer much in the way of theoretical guidance (a comprehensive review and compilation of the role theory literature can be found in Biddle & Thomas, 1966; see also Dahrendorf, 1968. The best known application of role theory concepts to politics is Wahlke, et al., 1962).

For the purposes of this study, politics will be defined as conflict between individuals or groups over social decision making. This can manifest itself in two ways: conflict over what decisions will be made on a given issue or issues; and conflict over who is going to make the decisions. Politics, then, is a phenomenon that

pervades all social interaction: the instant we have decisions that affect more than one person, we have politics. Conflicts over what decisions will be made can center around an issue which affects only a limited group or one which directly or indirectly affects the whole society. Similarly, conflicts over who is to make a given decision can center around one decision which concerns a small portion of society, or it may concern the making of the central decisions in it. The two types of conflict are interrelated; for example, a group which fails over a long period of time to influence the outcome of a decision may decide that the only way to succeed is to take over the power to make the decision by itself. On the other hand, a group which tries to take over the decision making power but fails, may find that some of its goals have been adopted by the dominant group.

Who are the participants in politics? Who is involved in the conflicts over the making of decisions? In order to answer this question, we refer to the language of "role theory" literature, which looks at society not as a conglomeration of individual biological beings, but as an ordered collection of social beings, each one fulfilling certain social roles; its unit of analysis is an individual's social role.

What is a social role? The literature most frequently defines it as a set of prescriptions indicating what the behavior of an individual in a certain position

should be (Biddle & Thomas, 1966, p. 29). "Position" is defined as "a collectively recognized category of persons for whom the basis for such differentiation is their common attributes, their common behavior, or the common reactions of others toward them" (Biddle & Thomas, 1966, p. 29).

Roles are not found in isolation, but in role sets, i.e., "that complement of role relationships which persons have by virtue of occupying a particular social [position]" (Merton, 1966, p. 283). Thus, a father finds himself in the same role set with his wife, children, and in-laws; a sick man in a hospital will be interacting by virtue of his position with a physician, a nurse and related personnel.

Role theory literature deals mainly with individual role behavior, i.e., such processes as role learning, role enactment, and role conflict; the focus of investigation is usually on an individual and his performance in a given position in view of the prescriptions defining what his behavior in that position should be. In this study, the focus of interest will be role groups--groups including all the individuals occupying a certain position in the society --rather than individuals. Thus, instead of looking at the individual student in his relationship with one or several faculty members and one or several college administrators, the study will be looking at students as a group interacting with faculty as a group and administrators as a group.

Role language has been used to analyze collective phenomena before (Parsons, 1951; Eisenstadt, 1954, 1956;

Merton, 1957): especially relevant for this paper is Eisenstadt's work on youth groups. In From Generation to Generation, he describes youth cultures as the collective action of individuals experiencing the same problems while occupying the same position in their respective role sets --their families. However, most of the literature of role theory does not deal with the dynamics of relationships within a role set. The main theoretical interest has been the description and explanation of the processes of adjustment of individuals to their social role, and the social consequences of maladjustment. The confrontations that are deemed most important are those between the occupants of a given position and "society," or the "community"--and not those between the occupants of different roles within the role set. In this sense, the use of the concept of role group in this study is similar to the way the concept of "class" is used, since "class" implies the existence of a complementary group, or class, and class analysis focuses on conflicts between classes, and not between one class and "society."

It should be pointed out here that the application of role language to collective phenomena does not mean that there is an analytical difference between individual and collective role-set dynamics; collective phenomena are emphasized simply because of the interest of this study in political movements.

Thus, society is here seen as a structure of role sets, which include, in turn, several role groups. Each person performs at least several roles which are also performed by other persons, and he can thus be seen as a member of several role groups. Different role groups vary in the degree to which they are popularly thought of as groups; fathers are individuals who find themselves performing the same role within the social organization called family, but we rarely think of fathers as a group, "the fathers." So it is with mothers. But it is easier to think about welfare mothers as a group, and even easier to think so about auto workers, clergymen, or students.

Within each set of interrelated role groups there exists, at any given point in time, a certain distribution of decision making power, whether the distribution is codified or not. Thus, in a family certain decisions are made by each of the members, but most decisions are concentrated in the hands of one of the parents. The identity of the most powerful parent depends on the society and the personality of the parents involved. In most bureaucratic organizations, the distribution of decision making power is codified. Thus, within the college or university, the faculty decides what curriculum is offered and who graduates from school, the administrators decide who gets what amounts of money or who gets admitted to the school, and students decide, up to a point, what courses they want to take and how hard they want to study. In general, both

faculty and administrators have much more decision making power than students.

In many role sets, the internal distribution of decision making power is accompanied by a symbolic distribution: titles, honors, forms of address of members of one role group to members of other role groups, as well as images of the characteristics of given role groups that qualify them to make--or disqualify them from making--certain decisions. Thus, in the university, the faculty used to be distinguished by their attire, by given titles, and by certain forms of address used by students. Although much of this has changed, a symbolic distribution still exists in most universities. The image of the student in American universities has been for many years one of a citizen on the way, who is not yet mature and responsible enough to make most decisions concerning himself, let alone those concerning the university as a whole. On the other hand, the wisdom and the scholarship attributed to the faculty and the assumed acquaintance of the administrators with the overall "needs" of the institution have made them appear qualified to make a wide gamut of decisions.

The distribution of decision making power within a role set constitutes an important part of what is called role learning, i.e., the process of learning the prescriptions that define the behavior of an individual in a certain position. The child learns to "respect his elders," as well as what he can or cannot do, and what

actions have to be approved first by his parents. A student in a university learns rapidly how to address his professors, as well as the multitude of regulations that apply to his behavior while in school. A black child in the old South learned early in life what he could or could not do in his relationship with white people. At the same time, young parents learn from their own parents, or from their friends, how to rear their children; new faculty members learn from their peers how to treat students, and white people learn from each other how to treat black people. In bureaucratic organizations, the sphere of authorities is even more clearly delineated and learned by individuals than in any of the above instances. In each of these cases, mechanisms have been developed to deal with deviance from the norms regulating intrarole set relationships, along with means to prevent deviance and sanctions to punish it.

An important part of that set of norms that we call "role" deals, then, with the proper place each role group has in the decision making system of its role set. In this connection it becomes important to ask: Who defines social roles? Who watches over compliance? The answer in sociological writings, and especially in those of the structural functionalist school, is "society" (Parsons, 1951; Merton, 1957). However, this answer is hardly satisfactory. A more satisfactory answer can be found by looking at social role sets, instead of at society as a whole

(Dahrendorf, 1968). Role definition and compliance with a role should be attributed in large part to the dominant role groups within each role set: the parents in the family, the faculty and administration in the university, the management in a factory, and whites in American society. It is of course no coincidence that revolutionary groups that question the place of their own role group within the role set, attempt to create their own educational institutions, where the traditional roles, and especially that part of them that involves the distribution of decision making power, are "unlearned," and new ones learned. Thus the Black Panthers do not want school integration, and white student radicals in the United States form their own "free universities." As a corollary, it should be pointed out that much of what in structural functionalist writings is called "deviance" appears to be, when looking at role sets instead of at the whole society, a questioning of role set relationships, or of that part of the "role" that prescribes how one group should behave with respect to another.

Relations within role sets may be stable for long periods of time. Members of the role groups within the role set may be satisfied with the distribution of decision making power within the set, or they may take it for granted. Some groups may express dissatisfaction with the distribution but do nothing serious to challenge their place in the system. However, in some instances groups with little decision making power may challenge the

dominant groups within the set, demanding a larger voice in the decision making process, or the complete overhaul of the system, so that they become the dominant groups. These are cases where members of one or more role groups come to have new expectations with respect to the place of their groups within the role set. What is behind this change in expectations?

The changes in expectations as to the place of one's role group in the role set's decision making structure may start as a result of changes in technology, education, communication patterns, territorial changes, population changes, or natural disasters. These broad social and natural changes may influence relations within a given role set in two ways:

a. They may cause a change in the relative strength or importance of the different role groups in the role set, and/or

b. They may change the circumstances of performance of the role in question.

The first type of change is illustrated by George Lefebvre's analysis of the processes which led to the outbreak of the French Revolution:

> This class [the bourgeoisie] had grown much stronger with the maritime discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the ensuing exploitation of the new world, and also because it proved highly useful to the monarchical state in supplying it with money and competent officials. In the eighteenth century commerce, industry and finance occupied an increasingly important place in the national economy . . . [the nobility and the clergy] preserved the

> highest rank in the legal structure of the country, but in reality economic power, personal abilities and confidence in the future had passed largely to the bourgeoisie. Such a discrepancy never lasts forever. The Revolution of 1789 restored the harmony between fact and law (Lefebvre, 1947, p. 4).

Thus, increasing economic power as well as the increasingly strategic place they were occupying in their alliance with the monarchy led the French bourgeoisie to expect a larger--or exclusive--voice in the national decision making structure.

Broad social and natural changes can bring about several changes in the intra-role set relationships:

1. Creation of new roles: The processes of differentiation and specialization that have occurred in various historical periods have often created new roles. Thus, for example, monetization and improvement of the means of communication have caused the appearance of merchants in agricultural societies; colonialism has brought western-trained intellectuals to Asian and African societies; industrialization was responsible for the rise of the urban proletariat. These new roles may alter the previous role set relationships in various ways: intellectuals in developing societies, for example, may question the legitimacy of the rule of the traditional elites and try to replace them; merchants in agricultural societies may become contenders for political power by controlling the flow of agricultural production; a strong proletariat may check the power of the bourgeoisie. Generally speaking,

new role groups will eventually demand a place in the decision making structure. Thus, the more differentiated and specialized a society, the more foci for conflict there will be.

2. Change in the power of a role group vis-a-vis the other members of the role set. Social and natural changes outside the role set can bring about changes in the power relationships within the role set in two ways: first, by creating a situation where a power base or value already in the possession of the role group in question acquires increased importance to the role set as a whole, thereby giving that role group added power vis-a-vis the other groups in the set; or, secondly, by giving a role group a new base of power, a new value, which it did not possess previously.

Examples of the first case include the military in many countries who in periods of high international tension find themselves in a strengthened position, or the scientists in the United States and the Soviet Union who were catapulted into the center of national affairs with the increasing importance of science to the management of the state in peacetime as well as in wartime. In both these cases, new external circumstances made the value possessed by the role group in question--military equipment and expertise in the case of the army, and scientific knowledge in the case of the scientists--vital to the groups with

which they interacted, and consequently, increased their power.

For examples of the second case we can look at the Ibos in Nigeria, who, under colonial rule, were able to take advantage of the educational and commercial opportunities available more rapidly than did other tribes, acquiring in the process a relative advantage; or at blacks in many urban centers in the United States, who, as a consequence of white migration to the suburbs and black migration into the cities, acquired electoral majorities and were able to elect their own people to political office.

3. Changes in the patterns of interaction of a role group with groups outside the role set: This category refers to cases where a change in the pattern of interaction of a role group with the outside brings about changes in its view of the relationships within its own rule set. Thus, for example, the Zionist movement owes much to Jews who left the traditional ghetto, were influenced by the liberal and nationalistic movements of the 19th century, and applied their learnings to the situation of their own people. White students who participated in the Civil Rights struggles in the South during the early sixties returned to their campuses with a changed view of themselves as well as of the American social and political system. Asian and African youth who study in Europe return with a different idea of what their societies should look like, including their own position as intelligentsia

in them. In short, this category refers to cases where, as a result of new patterns of interaction with the outside, members of a given role group learn that relations between role groups can be different from what they were used to, as well as to cases of sheer contagion of a spirit of change and rebellion.

4. Changes in the composition of a role group. This category includes cases of changes in the personnel of a role group. A severe economic depression may add to the ranks of the unemployed, professionals and academicians, who in turn, because of their social prominence or their political skills, may bring about changes in unemployment legislation that would not have occurred under a normal state of unemployment. Likewise, the influx of western-trained intellectuals into nationalist movements in some colonial countries dominated primarily by religious or otherwise traditionalist elite groups influenced the pattern of evolution of national liberation movements in those countries. Opening of the officers ranks in certain South American armies to all classes of the population may change the role played by those armies in the politics of their countries.

The four processes described above constitute changes in the position of certain role groups within their role sets: the creation of new roles, which bring added force to possible coalitions; changes in the power of a role group, which reinforce its claims to a share in the

decision making process; changes in the pattern of interaction of a group with the outside, giving it new expectations, or encouraging old ones; and changes in the composition of a role group by bringing new skills, new tactics, or more intense expectations regarding its position within the role set.

In the examples presented throughout this discussion, the broader changes stimulated the rise of a movement for change in intra-role set relationships. However, such a movement will not always arise. For example, a democratization of the ranks of officer corps can lead to a withdrawal of the army from politics; new interactions with the outside may bring members of a dissatisfied role group into contact with groups that attempted revolt and were crushed, and as a result they may not try to change their position; or, a dissatisfied group that has acquired a new basis of power may discover that its opponents have increased their own power too. It should be kept in mind that broad social and natural changes will alter the position of all, or at least several of the role groups within a role set. Thus, while they may stimulate a movement for change, they may also reinforce the power of the dominating group, or they may have no net effect at all on the intra-role set relationships.

The second type of change--that affecting the circumstances of performance of the role in question--is

illustrated by the following paragraph, which deals with the consequences of the increase in the number of American undergraduates who expect to go to graduate school and the growing graduate population:

> Graduate students . . . , along with the undergraduates who identify in whole or in part with them, form a semistable occupational group. Unlike those undergraduates and professional students who expect to be on campus for a fixed period and then depart for something better, those students see no immediate prospect of changing their status. They are therefore far more interested than other students in trying to improve their present circumstances (Jencks & Riesman, 1968, p. 47).

Thus, the increasing value of a graduate education --and the increasing number of those who expect to go to graduate school--have changed one circumstance of performance of the role of student, namely, the duration of the role, for at least a significant minority of the student body. This, in turn, has caused students to expect more in the way of decision making power in the university.

The changes in the circumstances of performance of a given role which broad natural and social changes produce are the following:

1. Changes in the duration of the role: Duration refers both to the length of time a person stays in the role, and to the number of hours a day he acts as an occupant of that role. Thus, the changes in educational requirements of different occupations in present-day American society make it necessary for ambitious youth to plan on graduate study, thereby increasing the duration of

the role of student, and the concommitant involvement of the individual in this role. The shortening of the working day and the working week in many industrial institutions over the last decades has decreased the duration of the role of worker. This decrease may have something to do with the continuing decrease in labor strife. The different personal involvement of army recruits and professional soldiers in their role is obviously related to the fact that for the first the service is just a passing role, while for the second it is a life career.

2. Changes in the degree to which occupation of the role in question affects the other roles the individual occupies: This category refers to the degree to which the success and satisfaction a person has in one role he occupies affect the success and satisfaction he experiences in his other roles. For example, during early industrialization, the role of industrial worker in Western European societies affected many of the individual's chances in his other roles--familial, educational, political, leisure time roles, etc. In most of these roles his choices were limited by the fact that he spent most of his life within the factory and earned little money. In present-day welfare states this has changed considerably: a worker can spend more time with his family, send his children to college, and take vacations. On the other hand, the circumstances of present-day academic competition--the importance of a good academic performance in order to earn the degree, be admitted to

graduate school, get a good job--make the role of student more important to many of its present-day occupants than it was previously, when students were few, came from upper middle class or upper class homes, and were assured of success regardless of their college grades.

Both these aspects of role performance--the duration of the role and the importance that a given role has with relation to the other roles an individual occupies, can be jointly called the "centrality" of the role to its occupants. Changes in the centrality of a given role to its occupants seem to be generally more important than changes involving intra-role set relationships. Changes in the power of a given group where the role is of secondary importance to most members--such as an increase in the numbers of, say football fans, may not bring about changes in expectations of role occupants. On the other hand, if the fans had to spend long hours every day as fans, and if that role had a crucial importance for the other roles they performed, then the picture would be different. Thus, although changes in technology, education, patterns of occupational mobility and migration occur quite frequently, and although there is a great variety of roles, occupied by a multitude of individuals, there is not an eternal state of chaos in which different role groups constantly demand changes in various decision making structures. Movements for social and political change are much more probable in role groups where the role is central to the lives of its

occupants than in groups where this is not the case. This is obviously not the only variable that determines the process of changes in role set relationships in society, but it is a very important one.

Two steps in the process of political change have been described: the first one was defined rather vaguely as "broad social or natural changes" such as industrialization, large migrations, wars or commercialization. These changes will be termed "external changes," in the sense that they take place outside the role set involved and are not consciously initiated by any role group within the set. Thus, both commercialization and industrialization started as a consequence of certain technological innovations; in later stages perceptive groups used both in order to improve their positions in society, but neither process was a result of calculated long range planning on the part of the groups involved to increase their decision making power within their role sets.

The second step consists of those changes that take place in the position of a given role group within a role set, or in the circumstances of performance of a given role, as a consequence of the external changes.

In the case of the French Revolution, these two steps were followed by a revolt of the bourgeoisie--a revolt based on the demand to participate in the process of national decision making on the same basis with the other national role groups--the royalty, the nobility and

the clergy. In many other cases, though, the role group in question may continue to accept its position within the role set as in the past; or, a long time may pass before the group demands a different distribution of decision making power, or these demands may come about as the result of the instigation of other groups, from outside the role set. What are the factors that influence the rise of a demand for changes in the distribution of decision making power?

1. Identification of the role-group members as a group: The identification of the problems and grievances that each individual group member feels as a collective problem and not as an individual one is, of course, what Marx has called "class consciousness." As long as each individual sees his problems as exclusively his own, the possibility of collective action is remote. Class consciousness tends to be low in roles where there are perceived individual opportunities to overcome role related problems. For example, for graduate students in many of the social sciences many of the anxieties related to role performance can be overcome by individual competence or by good relationships with the faculty. Graduate students have a tendency to feel that a given problem encountered by one of them will not be encountered by the rest. The rate of success in the role, as measured by receiving the degree and getting a job, has been relatively high, so that only in rare cases does a coalition of graduate

students act to change their collective situation. For workers in a factory, on the other hand, where problems are more easily perceived as collective rather than individual, and where the rate of success--either as measured by advancement or by salary--is either very low (advancement) or homogeneous (salaries)--class consciousness is usually higher.

In other words, the existence of class consciousness is dependent on specific characteristics of the role in question, such as the way success in the role is measured--whether there are great variations in the way an individual can achieve success (In non-organizational roles, such as "black," success is measured, of course, by ability to enter into other roles in spite of being black. Class consciousness is bound to be higher, everything else being equal, in a situation where no black can enter given roles, than in a situation where entrance is difficult but possible.); the similarity of the tasks performed by the different members of the role group (There is more internal differentiation, obviously, between "intellectuals" than there is between "students of political science."); or, the degree of communication between the members of the role group. (Higher among workers performing their job in the same room than among farmers settled miles apart.)

2. Clarity of identifiability of the opposing role group or role groups: Dissatisfaction with the

present position of the role group in the decision making process is always bound up with grievances directed at another role group or groups--the ones that have a dominant position in the decision making process. The rise of demands for change in the relations within the role set will depend on how well these role groups can be identified. Several elements seem to be important here: first, the specificity of the opponent. It is easier to concentrate action against grape-growers, in the case of the striking grape-pickers, than it is to do so against "the white people," in the case of blacks. The second element is the degree of agreement between the members of the dissatisfied role group as to the identity of the opponent. Thus, one black group may villainize certain white racist groups, while others may fix upon all white people. Finally, demands for change may depend on whether or not it is possible to attribute the grievances of the role group in question to the actions or the position of the opposing role groups.

Up to now, the two factors mentioned--class consciousness and identifiability of the opponent--are logical first steps in the rise of a demand for change in role set relations: i.e., the identification of the actors involved in the conflict; first, the self-identification of the dissatisfied group, and second, the identification of the opponent (a third element, when actual conflict takes place, is the class consciousness of the opposing group).

A different set of factors having to do with the rise of a demand for changes in intra-role set relationships is related to the actual distribution of decision making power within the role set.

1. Existence of alternative channels for decision making: This refers to the extent to which the occupants of the role in question are dissatisfied in other roles that they occupy. For example, bureaucrats without much decision making power in their organizations may have great prominence in voluntary organizations or leisure time activities. Members of a given minority group may have little power in the politics of the state, but have much discretion in the internal affairs of their community, or in academic or cultural fields.

In other words, members of a role group that is oppressed in the context of its role set may be members of other role groups that have much decision making power within their respective role sets. The frustrations in one field of activity may be mitigated by satisfactions in other ones.

2. Existence of alternative rewards: Within a given role set, a group that has a very low position in the decision making system may have compensatory rewards that will tend to lessen their desire for more decision making power. For example, workers in a factory who have no voice in management may have good salaries. The

military in some countries have no wars to fight and little participation in politics but they have fat salaries.

The existence of both alternative channels for decision making and alternative rewards is related to the centrality of the role in question. When the role is very central, the existence of alternative channels for decision making or alternative rewards may have a weaker restraining force on the rise of demands for change than when the role is not very central.

The above variables will affect the degree of dissatisfaction that a role group may feel with respect to its position within the role set's decision making structure, as well as the articulation and execution of demands for change within the role set. It is assumed here that when there is no strong group identification among members of the role group, when the opponent is not clearly identifiable, when there are alternative channels for the decision making, or when there are alternative rewards, the probability that changes in the position of the role group within the role set and changes in the circumstances of performance of the role will lead to the rise of a movement for political change will be low.

It should be noted that when the variables listed above are combined so as to encourage the formation of a movement for political change, the actual form of the movement, the intensity of the conflict within the role set, and the outcome will depend on a variety of other factors,

such as the nature of the response of the opponent to the demands of the dissatisfied group, and the resources--leadership, organizational skills, material resources, availability of allies, etc.--available to the dissatisfied group. These factors, though, will not be dealt with here, since they are beyond the scope of the present study.

To review now the major steps outlined above in the process of change in intra-role set relationships: The first step is "external changes," such as changes in technology, war, migrations, or industrialization. These external changes may then bring about changes in the position of given role groups within their role sets by creating new roles, by increasing the power of one role group vis-a-vis the others, by changing the pattern of interaction of a role group with groups outside the role set, or by altering the composition of a role group. The external changes may also change the circumstances of performance of a given role by altering the centrality of the role for its occupants. This second set of changes may, in turn, bring about changes in the expectations members of a given role group hold with respect to the position of their group within the decision making structure of the role set. The probability that these expectations will lead to the formation of a movement for change will be affected by the degree of "class consciousness" within the group, the clarity of identifiability of the opponent, and the

existence of alternative rewards and alternative channels for decision making (see Figure 1).

Political change, then, is seen here as a continuous process taking place within the different social role sets, originated by "external changes," i.e., changes outside the given role set, and affecting the decision making structure within those role sets. The decision making structure is changed either when a role group which previously had no voice at all begins to participate in decision making, or when a role group which previously had a minor voice takes on a dominant position in the decision making process.

An example of the first type of change is the process of unionization of labor in the United States until labor was recognized in the thirties as a legitimate party in industrial decisions; this change has been graphically described by Galbraith as the rise of the countervailing power. An example of the second form of change is the rise of the bourgeoisie to power in France and throughout the industrialized countries, at the expense of the aristocracy and the clergy.

Political change can take place on different social levels: in the language used here, it can take place within different role sets. A change within a prominent role set may affect many other role sets, while a change within a non-prominent one may have little outside effect. Thus, for example, the seizure of power by a modernizing intellectual elite in a traditional society will affect not only

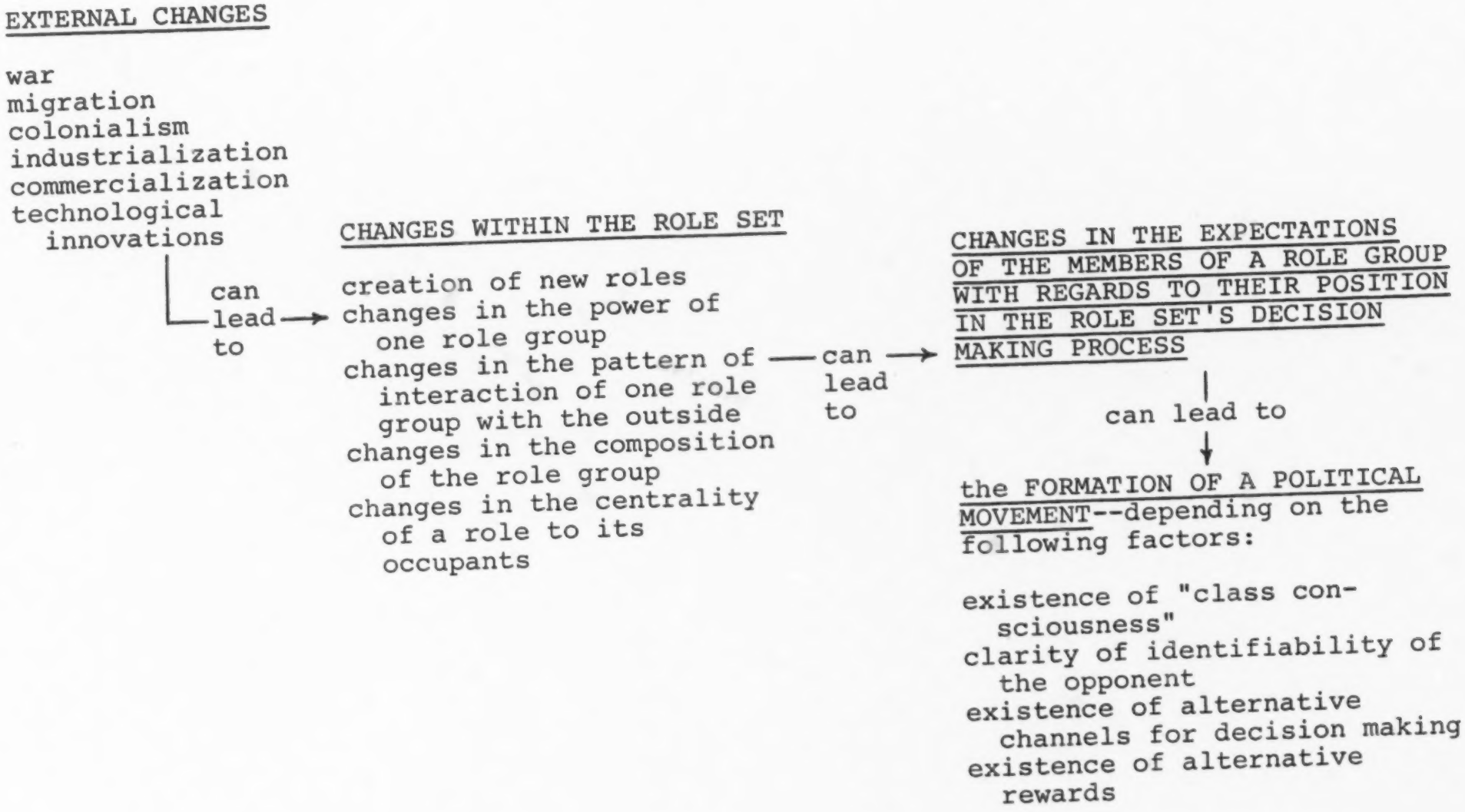
EXTERNAL CHANGES
war
migration
colonialism
industrialization
commercialization
technological innovations
can lead to
CHANGES WITHIN THE ROLE SET
creation of new roles
changes in the power of one role group
changes in the pattern of interaction of one role group with the outside
changes in the composition of the role group
changes in the centrality of a role to its occupants
can lead to
CHANGES IN THE EXPECTATIONS OF THE MEMBERS OF A ROLE GROUP WITH REGARDS TO THEIR POSITION IN THE ROLE SET'S DECISION MAKING PROCESS
can lead to
the FORMATION OF A POLITICAL MOVEMENT--depending on the following factors:
existence of "class consciousness"
clarity of identifiability of the opponent
existence of alternative channels for decision making
existence of alternative rewards

Figure 1. Steps in the formation of a political movement.

the structure of decision making at the top: if the new ruling group initiates a process of industrialization and a system of mass education, it will affect also, among other things, the relationship between the elders and youth of many villages, as well as the relations between husband and wife in the family. On the other hand, if a given ethnic group takes over the major political posts in a local community because it has become more numerous than the previously ruling ethnic group, the effects may be confined to that community alone.

Generally speaking, industrial society has a more complex web of roles and role sets than does agricultural society. Thus, the number of foci for social conflict is larger in the former. Furthermore, the changes that have been called here "external" occur at a higher frequency in industrial societies; for instance, there have been more technological changes since the beginning of the industrial era than there were up to that time. Consequently, political change is frequent in industrial societies, even though it may not always take the form of the French or the Bolshevik revolutions. This continuous process of change, and the ability of societies to respond to the demands of the different movements, constitutes, according to S. N. Eisenstadt, the major challenge to modern industrial states (Eisenstadt, 1966, Chapter 3).

The conception of political change presented above seems to fit the coercion theory of society rather than the

integration theory of society, to use Ralph Dahrendorf's vocabulary (Dahrendorf, 1959, Chapter 5). The coercion theory of society maintains, according to Dahrendorf, that social change is ubiquitous, that conflict and dissensus are found in every society, that every element in society contributes to its disintegration and change, and that every society is based on the coercion of some of its members by others. The integration theory of society, on the other hand, stresses stability, integration, and consensus (Dahrendorf, 1959, pp. 161-162).

Using the approach presented here, one is led to look for conflict and change in the multitude of existing role sets: father-mother-children; students-faculty-administrators; blue-collar workers-white collar workers-management; Protestants-Catholics; whites-blacks; football players-coaches-owners; and so forth. In each one of the role sets of a given society, there is a differential distribution of decision making power.* The formality and the legitimacy of that distribution is not crucial, since both are, generally, only a manifestation of the stability of the role set relationships and/or of the power and the success of dominating groups within it. Since the basic

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*I have avoided a definition of "decision making power" both because I think that for the time being the framework presented here can be understood and worked with without such a definition, and for fear of becoming one more victim in the hopeless battle to define satisfactorily the concept of power.

structure of all role sets is the same--individuals and groups interrelated by virtue of occupying complementary roles--there is no analytical difference between conflict and change taking place in the various role sets, which is not to deny that in every period certain conflicts overshadow all the others in the public mind, and that certain types of conflicts--such as those affecting the occupancy of the highest governmental posts--have been considered throughout history to be more worthy of study than others.

A few additional words should be said about the concept of movement for political change used in this study. A political movement--or a movement for political change--is here defined as a group of individuals occupying the same social role, who as a group are outside the decision making structure within their role set or occupy a low position in it, who try to influence the making of one or more decisions, or try to become a prominent or exclusive part of the decision making structure themselves.

By saying "political" the discussion is restricted to cases where the issue involved is the making of decisions. It should be repeated that politics is here seen as a phenomenon that pervades all levels and units of society. Therefore, a political movement can take place on a national level, a local level, or within small groups.

By specifying "individuals in the same social role," it is meant that a political movement will be the

manifestation of the expectations of a given role group within a given role set. It is possible, though, that once the movement comes into being, other individuals will join it for different reasons. It is also possible that the original reasons for the formation of the movement may become irrelevant with the passage of time. A movement can also be formed by an alliance between two or more dissatisfied role groups. Finally, individuals dissatisfied with the present position of their role group can join other political movements without ever forming one of their own.

"Outside the decision making structure or occupying a low position in it," means that the role group in question is not recognized by the dominant role groups as part of the decision making process, or that it is not given enough weight in it (generally, the second alternative will be expressed by a feeling on the part of the role group that it has no influence in the decision making process; i.e., it is for all practical purposes outside of it). It follows that once the role group becomes part of the decision making process, or has succeeded in its specific demands, it ceases, from an analytical point of view, to be a movement.

What, then, is a student political movement? Much of the difficulty in comparisons between student political activities in various countries and time periods is due to the fact that different phenomena are referred to as student movements. Three categories of student political activity can be distinguished:

1. Activity in the framework of student organizations which are affiliates of adult political organizations. A good example are such organizations as the National Student League and the Student League for Industrial Democracy of the thirties in the United States. In such organizations students participate in politics within the framework of larger political organizations, and they are distinguished from the rest of the membership on the basis of their being students. In such organizations student activity is not directed towards specific student interests, but rather toward a larger political struggle.

2. Activity in the framework of political organizations or parties where students constitute a significant part of the membership and leadership. Examples of such cases would be the Social Democracy in Czarist Russia, or the national liberation movements across Africa and Asia. In these cases, students provide a good manpower source for larger political movements, and once they are recruited, they act as members of the larger movement, in many cases without even being internally distinguishable in so far as separate organization is concerned; a revolutionary cell

might include, for example, a student, a factory worker, a white-collar worker, and a soldier. Again, this is not strictly a student movement.

3. Activity in the framework of a student movement, which, according to the definition given above for a movement, would be a group of students (individuals occupying the same social role), who as a group are outside the decision making structure within their role set or occupy a low position in it, who try to influence the making of one or several decisions, or try to become a prominent or exclusive part of the decision making structure themselves.

Most of what is called in the literature "student movements" belongs to either the first or the second category. Student movements as defined in category three are rare. In this study, the student political activity in the United States in the sixties will hopefully be shown to be a student movement as defined in category number three.

CHAPTER II

PURPOSE AND DESIGN

Purpose of the Study

The present study is an attempt to apply parts of the theoretical framework outlined above to an explanation of the student movement in the colleges and universities in the United States during the decade of the sixties.

The system of higher education in the United States has been undergoing great changes in the last few decades. These changes can be attributed to general changes inside American society as well as to changes in the position of the United States in the world at large. Within the United States, scientific advances and increasing complexity have made the industrial process a highly sophisticated one, requiring highly trained personnel and a continuous process of research and development and self-improvement. A substantial part of the jobs in industrial production and the service industries now require some form of higher education. These jobs have become the most prestigious as well as the best paying ones. The personnel for these jobs cannot be trained, as they were previously, on the

job, and the university has taken on the task of training them. Thus, the United States has seen a continuous advance towards a system of universal education, and the universities no longer serve as training places--or preparatory schools--for the elite of the country.

At the same time, in the aftermath of the Second World War, the United States found itself involved in all corners of the world as the most powerful state to emerge from the war. The Soviet Union, however, presented a very serious challenge to United States hegemony. The cold war that ensued made national security the major national priority. Given the nature of modern warfare, the scientific establishment was called upon to make a major contribution to that broad area called "defense"; and as a consequence it found itself getting increasing support from the federal government. This was manifested in an increasing interest of the government in the formation of a large and high quality manpower pool, as well as in increasing support for the formation of large research and development facilities, both within and outside the universities. Thus the system of higher education now serves both the purpose of insuring continuous growth of the industrial system and of maintaining the United States' position as a major world power.

These "external" changes have brought about changes in the internal relationships within the university role set. These latter changes are the subject of the present

study. More specifically, the study focuses on changes that have affected the position of the students within their role set. A complete analysis would require a study of the faculty, the administration and the trustees, as well as of the students--but such a study is beyond the capabilities of a doctoral candidate. It should be kept in mind, though, that the external changes have affected more than the students alone.

A cursory review of the literature on higher education done at the early stages of the formulation of the study revealed that there is a great deal of statistical information on the changes in the position of students vis-a-vis other members of their role set as well as on the changes in the circumstances of performance of the role of students. Furthermore, some of these changes have been analyzed and documented elsewhere (see Chapter III).

The objective changes in the position of the student body with respect to the other members of their role set selected for study here are:

1. An increasing involvement of the universities in national affairs, which brought about a rise in the prominence of the university role set, including, by implication, the university students.

2. An increase in the student population, both in absolute numbers and in proportion to the relevant age group, which made for an increase in the power of the

student body in individual universities and university communities as well as in the nation as a whole.

3. A growing heterogeneity of the student body in terms of socio-economic status, ethnic and religious composition, and geographical distribution, which changed students from an elite group, relatively isolated from wider social concerns, to a group representing a greater variety of social and political preoccupations.

The first change--increasing involvement of the university in national affairs--is included here, since it is assumed that through the rise in the prominence of the university as a whole, the power of the students as a group in its relations with the outside world has also increased. Thus, for example, closing down or destroying symbols of the university involvement in national affairs, such as the placement offices or the Army Mathematics Research Center at Wisconsin, are means that students did not have available to them in previous periods. Such power, it should be noted, is power not only vis-a-vis the faculty and the administration, which cherish their relationship with the government, but also power vis-a-vis groups outside the strictly university role set--e.g., the military, industry, and the government.

The changes in the circumstances of performance of the role of student which are relevant to the study are:

4. A growing necessity to attend college in order to succeed in life. This "necessity" is expressed both in

terms of the available opportunities for those with no college degree or some college education, and in terms of the expressed desire on the part of parents and children to get a college education.

5. An increase in the duration of the role of student. This will be seen here as an increase in the number of those attending or planning to attend graduate school. This category should also include the increase in the proportion of college entrants who actually stay in college for the full four years, as well as the increase in the number of those who spend a longer time getting their degree, by traveling abroad, working for a year, etc.

According to the theoretical framework, the above changes in the position of the students vis-a-vis the other members of the role set and in the circumstances of performance of the role of student may lead to a process of development of a movement whose aim will be a change in the structure of decision making within the role set. Such a process involves many steps--many of which were outlined in Chapter I. The present study limits itself to changes in student expectations regarding their position as a group within the decision making structure of their role set, as well as to changes in the pattern of political activity of students, more specifically:

1. Students' acceptance of the authority traditionally exercised by other members of their role set over student affairs.

2. Students' demands for a voice in the decision making structure of the role set.

3. Students' acceptance of the in loco parentis concept, as well as of the image of students as immature citizens on the way.

4. "Class consciousness" among students.

All of the above are attitudinal variables; in addition to them this study also focuses on:

5. Changes in the patterns of student political activity--number of conflicts between students and other groups both within and outside of their role set, types of issues over which these conflicts arose, and the means used by the students to achieve their goals in those conflicts.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were explored in this study:

1. A rise in the prominence of the university role set, as manifested by the increasing involvement of the university in social decisions, has been associated with an increase in the number and variety of social and political issues with which students concern themselves and on which they act.

2. An increase in the student population, both in absolute numbers and as a proportion of the relevant

age group, has been associated with an increase in the "class consciousness" of students.

3. A change in the composition of the student population from a fairly homogeneous one to a more heterogeneous one has been associated with an increase in the number and variety of social and political issues with which students concern themselves, and on which they act.

4. A growing necessity to attend college in order to succeed in life, as well as an increase in the duration of the role of student, have been associated with an increasing feeling on the part of students that they have a right to participate in the decision making structure of the university, as well as a growing opposition to the traditional authority of the faculty and the administration over student affairs.

5. An increase in the duration of the role of student and the growing necessity to go to college have also been associated with a change in students' self-perception from one of individuals preparing themselves for citizenship and adulthood, to one of full citizenship and adulthood.

6. An increase in students' feeling of their right to a voice in university and off university decisions, and the change in their self-perception with regards to citizenship and adulthood, have been associated with an increase in their political activity, as defined by the number of conflicts, the number of participants in these conflicts, and the means used by the students during the conflicts.

7. An increase in political activity of students has been associated with an increase in the "class consciousness" of students.

Design of the Study

Sources of Data

Two bodies of data had to be gathered for this study: data about changes in the structure of American higher education, and data about changes in students' expectations with respect to the position of their role group within their role set. The first body consists mainly of aggregate data that have in most cases been gathered by federal agencies and by individual universities. Thus, for example, data on student enrollment for the nation as a whole can be found in the United States Census publications, or in publications of the Office of Education or the American Council of Education, while each individual university keeps its own records on the subject. The major task with respect to the collection of this body of data was simply to locate the information in the libraries or archives of the universities studied. Not all of the data were readily available in tabulations, and most of the data had to be converted into percentages. This study benefited from the fact that the schools selected for study are institutions with a long tradition of self study, although many topics relevant to the study began to interest them only in the last few years, and thus longitudinal data on such subjects were not available.

Data for measurement of the changes in students' expectations as to the place of their role group were gathered through a content analysis of the student newspapers of two schools--the University of Wisconsin's The Daily Cardinal and Harvard's Crimson.

Ideally, the best data for the measurement of these attitudinal variables would have been obtained from periodical surveys of student populations, and/or interviews with student leaders. However, this type of data does not exist. Another way of measuring those variables would have been to analyze personal accounts and memoirs of individual students over the years. This method, however, would have been very unsystematic, and would have presented serious methodological problems. The student newspaper, it was felt, provided the best available source of systematic, longitudinal data on student attitudes.

The newspaper as a source presents a problem of representativeness: the newspaper provides a picture of a given situation as seen by a few reporters and editors, and those student leaders or activists who are quoted in it or who have sent letters to the editor. Thus it does not represent the student population as a whole, but only the active minority. Yet, given the interest of this study in the developmental process of a movement, this was not a disqualifying factor, since it was felt that in such a process, it is more important to know what the active minority felt than to have a representative picture of the whole student

population. Major historical changes came about as a result of the work of active minorities. One would learn more about the dynamics of the Bolshevik Revolution from selected interviews or accounts of the leaders of certain political parties and factions than from a Gallup-type poll of the entire Russian population of that time. The same applies to present interpretations of current student political action in the United States; some interpreters tend to dismiss the importance or the impact of the New Left groups because polls of student populations assure them that less than 10, 5, or 3% of the college population engages in protest activities; yet, despite continuing small percentages, the impact of student activities both on and off campus cannot be denied or ignored.

Time Period Selected

The time period of this study--1930-1969--was chosen for two purposes: first, to provide a long enough period for the detection of changes in students' perceptions of their role as a group; and secondly, to provide an opportunity for comparison between two periods of student activism: the thirties and the sixties.

Selection of Schools

Given the nature of this study, and time and personnel limitations, the selection of schools could not be based on a representative sample from the universe of American institutions of higher learning. Furthermore, it

is not entirely clear that representativeness was important in this case: the student movement was strong in some schools, very weak or nonexistent in others. A representative sample would have provided information on the relative statistical importance of various ideas and activities on different campuses, showing, for example, what is known anyway, that a majority of students did not participate actively throughout most stages of the movement. A representative sample might not have served the purpose of this study--to follow the development of the active minority which constituted the student movement.

Once representativeness was ruled out, several considerations took priority:

First, that the schools selected should have a traditionally active student body, so as to provide interesting cases for study;

Second, that the institutions represent different structural types--and especially public and private schools;

Third, and very important, that the schools selected have a student newspaper that had been publishing daily for the forty years under study, and that the newspaper be of high quality;

Finally, that the schools have graduate schools awarding advanced degrees in a variety of fields, given the importance assigned in the theoretical framework to the duration of the role of the student.

A pretest of the content analysis procedure at the early stages of the study revealed that with two coders, about two months would be required to collect the data for each school. Accordingly, only two schools were selected. Quite a few schools meet the requirements listed above. West coast schools were ruled out because of expense considerations. Harvard was selected as the private school because of its traditional role of leader in American higher education.* Wisconsin was selected because of its tradition of student activism.

The Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis used in the content analysis was a conflict between students and other groups within or outside of the university role set. A "conflict" was defined as any situation in which an organized group of students--student government, dormitory council, fraternal organization, ad hoc group organized around a specific issue, political organization--engages in activities (strikes, demonstrations, oral or written public statements, etc.) designed to affect existing or projected policies in areas of concern to them either on or off campus. An "organized group" was considered one in which a recognizable leadership exists.

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*For the purpose of this study, Radcliffe is considered part of Harvard. The two were closely related ever since Radcliffe was founded; the connection grew constantly --especially after the Second World War.

A conflict was chosen as the unit of analysis on the assumption that the probability of finding attitudes regarding the role of students as a group would be highest during periods of conflict. In addition, focusing on conflict provided the opportunity to record much information relevant to the subject of student political activity: number of conflicts in a given year, issues around which conflicts arose, patterns of alliances of students, means employed by them to achieve their goals, and declared goals of students during those conflicts. In view of these considerations, the alternatives--analysis of a given sample of editorials, letters, or news items made on a random basis--seemed less likely to yield useful data.

Some further explanations are needed concerning the notion of conflict as it was used in this study. First, only conflicts between students and some other group were considered--and not conflicts between students themselves. It was felt that the latter would contribute relatively little to the theoretical interests of this study, in the sense that in purely intra-student conflicts the probability of finding discussions of the position of the student role group vis-a-vis other members of the role set would be relatively low.*

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*But intra-student disputes occurring during a conflict between a student group and another group were, of course, recorded.

Secondly, the analysis did not include cases in which student activity was confined exclusively to drawing up a resolution, circulating a petition, or conducting a fund-raising drive. The passage of a resolution, by itself, can hardly be considered a conflict. Furthermore, many of the resolutions passed by student governments and political groups never make the newspaper, thus presenting a problem of representativeness of those resolutions that would be included in the study. The same applies to cases where the only activity was the circulation of a petition. First, it could be argued that the signing of a petition is a very passive, non-public form of conflict; but more important, petitions being such a common practice in American politics, it was suspected that many of them would not be reported in the newspaper, especially in the later years, when more dramatic activities took up most of the newsprint. Thus, taking into account cases where the only political activity was the circulation of a petition would also have presented a problem of representativeness. . As for cases where the only reported activity was an attempt to raise money for some cause, it was felt that these resembled the periodic charity drives conducted on many campuses too closely to be considered conflicts.

Content Analysis Procedure

The actual procedure for the content analysis was as follows: all the issues of the newspaper, from the

registration issues to the Christmas break, and from March 1st to the end of the regular school year, were read.* In each issue, all the news items, feature articles, editorials, and letters to the editor were read: ads, photographs, cartoons, and sports pages were excluded.

Once a conflict was identified, all the information about it--from the first reported activity to the last one --was recorded on two different types of coding sheets: attitude sheets and summary sheets (see Figures 14 and 15 in Appendix A). One attitude sheet was used for every unit of recording (a unit of recording is the smallest section of a text in which a reference is recorded). The unit of recording was a letter to the editor, an editorial, or a speech reported in a news story--in other words, a piece of writing containing the opinions of one person.** On the attitude sheet, any relevant attitude which appeared was recorded once--even if it was mentioned more than one time.

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*The decision to read every second year--as well as that to read the Fall and Spring and not the whole academic year--were made because of time limitations. Thus the account of student political activities and changes in their role expectations is not complete in a historical sense, although it provides a solid enough basis for the analysis of the process of change. It should be noted that the exclusion of the Winter months did not result in the loss of much information for most of the years under study: both because throughout most years, this was a relatively quiet period, and because when a conflict did occur, in many cases it continued in March, when it was coded.

**Although some letters to the editor contained more than one signature, only one attitude sheet was used for each letter.

The summary sheet was used to summarize background information about the conflict, such as when it started and ended, who initiated it, how many students participated in activities related to the conflict, what means were used by the students during the conflict, what groups on campus and outside of it supported the cause of the students, and what groups opposed them. Thus, for any given conflict, there might be a varying number of attitude sheets, but only one summary sheet.

CHAPTER III

STRUCTURAL CHANGES WITHIN THE UNIVERSITY ROLE SET

This chapter will present some of the available evidence pertaining to the independent variables under study--changes in American universities' involvement in national decision-making, expansion of the students' role-group, changes in the composition of the student body, changes in the duration of the role of student, and changes in the perceived necessity to attend college.

Before turning to the available data, it is necessary to point out some of their shortcomings. Generally speaking, there are two main sources of statistical information on higher education in the United States: the Office of Education and the Census Bureau. The Office of Education has been collecting data on institutions of higher education since 1870. The information is based on reports filed by the various institutions. It appeared first in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Education (up to 1916), then in the Biennial Survey of Education in the United States (up to 1962), and most recently in the Statistics of Education in the United States and the Digest of Educational

Statistics. The information refers to enrollment, faculty, degrees conferred, income, expenditures, and property and plant fund operations. Similar information is also contained in the Factbook on Higher Education published by the American Council on Education.

Information collected by the Bureau of the Census is obtained by household interviews in the decennial censuses and through current sample surveys. The information relates to school enrollment, literacy and educational attainment of the general population.

The first point that should be borne in mind is that because their methods of data collection differ, the figures published by the Office of Education and the Bureau of the Census are not identical. Various students of higher education have analyzed the differences between the two sources (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1960, pp. 202-206; see also Riesman & Jencks, 1969, passim; and Folger & Nam, 1965, Appendix A). Secondly, neither of the two agencies has collected information about several variables relevant to this study, including the socio-economic status of college students and the ethnic and religious composition of the student body. The Office of Education does not have such information because its data are based on school reports, and most schools do not have or do not publish such information themselves. The Bureau of the Census is concerned with the characteristics of the total population, and does not concentrate on college students in particular; the two

items that are best covered by the Census studies are sex and race. The latter has been systematically studied only since the Second World War.

The best data on the relationship between the federal government and the universities are found in the studies of the National Science Foundation. However, the Foundation was created only in 1950, and most of the information it publishes starts from that year. For previous years the only information available concerns income of universities and is published by the Office of Education. In these reports one can find only one figure on federal assistance to universities; it is not broken down into categories of assistance (e.g., plant or research), or into governmental agencies supplying the funds, or into destination of the money (e.g., natural sciences or social sciences).

Information on changing public attitudes towards the value of higher education can be found only in a scatter of public opinion polls; the information that does exist covers only a few years, and it is not always comparable.

Finally, a word about the information found at Harvard and Wisconsin. Fortunately, the two schools have a tradition of self study. However, aside from enrollment figures and financial reports, the availability of statistics depends very much on what was considered an important issue at any given period. Thus, the proportion

of blacks and other minorities in the student body became a focus for study only in the sixties, and longitudinal information on this variable does not exist in either school. The geographic distribution of the student body became important at Harvard with the launching of the National Scholarships program, and therefore a good series is available on that subject. The socio-economic composition of the student body was not considered as important as the geographic distributions, apparently, because no longitudinal information was found on the former. Placement of graduates became a big operation in both schools only after World War II, and thus there are figures on plans of the graduates only since the forties. In general, collection of information on the student body and related subjects became important--as on the larger, national scene--only after the war, with the expansion of universities and the increasing interdependence of the universities and the government. Prior to that time, the operation of many schools resembled a small, family-owned enterprise rather than a large corporation. When the official in charge of financial assistance to students at Wisconsin was asked for data on financial assistance beginning with 1930, he burst into laughter: "In the thirties, if a student needed financial help, he would go to the Dean, who would take a big roll of money from his pocket and ask, 'How much do you need?' And the Dean never bothered to keep statistics on that."

Thus, the information presented in the following pages is, in many respects, far from being satisfactory. This is especially true with respect to socio-economic characteristics of the student body. This is a problem shared by most studies that cover relatively long periods of time. Hopefully though, the major points of the general argument will be supported.

Increased Involvement of the University in Determination of Alternatives for Social and Governmental Choice

Beginning with the Second World War, the university in the United States has risen to a national prominence never experienced before. This prominence stems from the importance acquired during and after the war by two of the university's resources: the knowledge it produces and its scientific manpower. The government utilized these resources before the war, as evidenced by the numerous agricultural and weather stations run by universities, the university help enlisted to improve the national censuses, and even some military research (for a review of pre-World War II government relations with the scientific community see Cox, 1964, and Quattlebaum, 1960). However, it was not until the Second World War and the consequent military and scientific competition between the United States and the Soviet Union that the federal government began to use the universities' resources continuously and on a grand scale.

The increasing importance attached to the university's resources in the process of national decision making can be seen by looking at, first of all, governmental support of the process of production of knowledge in the universities, and, secondly, by looking at the direct involvement of university scientists in the decision making process.

To begin with, in the forty years under study here, the proportion of the Gross National Product represented by educational expenditures doubled--from 3.3% in 1930 to 6.6% in 1968. In the same period, though, expenditures on higher education increased four-fold, from 0.6% in 1930 to 2.3% in 1968 (see Table 1).

During the same period, total expenditures on research and development in the United States as a percentage of the GNP increased fifteen-fold, from 0.2% in 1930 to 3.0% in 1965 (see Table 2). It should be pointed out in this context that the United States is the only country in the West to devote such a large percentage of its GNP to research and development, and the only country whose government financed 64% of this expenditure (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1968, pp. 29 and 33).

Thus, almost two-thirds of the total research and development expenditures in the United States are financed by the government. The majority of these government funds go to private industry--62.3% in 1965--and only a small

TABLE 1.--United States education expenditures[a] as percent of gross national product,[b] 1930-1968.

Year	All Education[c]	Higher Education[d]		
		Total	Public	Private
1930	3.3%	.6%	.3%	.4%
1932	4.5	.9	.4	.5
1934	3.9	.8	.4	.5
1936	3.5	.8	.4	.4
1938	3.6	.8	.4	.4
1940	3.5	.8	.4	.4
1942	2.4	.6	.3	.3
1944	1.8	.5	.2	.2
1946	2.2	.5	.3	.3
1948	2.9	.9	.5	.4
1950	3.5	1.0	.5	.5
1952	3.3	.9	.5	.4
1954	3.9	.9	.5	.4
1956	4.1	1.0	.6	.4
1958	4.8	1.2	.7	.5
1960	5.0	1.3	.7	.5
1962	5.5	1.5	.9	.7
1963[e]	5.4	1.6	.9	.6
1964	5.9	1.8	1.0	.8
1965[e]	6.0	1.9	1.1	.8
1966[e]	6.3	2.1	1.2[f]	.9
1967[e]	6.4	2.2	1.3	.9
1968[e]	6.6	2.3	1.4	.9

[a]Reported on school year basis.

[b]Gross National Product adjusted to a school year basis by averaging data for two calendar years.

[c]Includes elementary and secondary schools, higher educational institutions, schools for exceptional children, and schools for Indians. Also includes capital outlay and interest.

[d]"Includes auxiliary enterprises and other noneducational expenditures as given in tables or footnotes of the Office of Education's Biennial Survey of Education." P. 53, source 1.

[e]Based on estimates of education expenditures.

[f]Revised estimate.

Source: American Council on Education, A Fact Book on Higher Education.

TABLE 2.--United States expenditure on research and development and education compared with GNP, 1929-1965. (In billions of dollars)

	GNP	Total R & D Expenditure	Total R & D Expenditure as % of GNP	Total Education Expenditure	Total Education Expenditure as % of GNP	Total Education and R & D Expenditure (B + D - Correction)[g]	Total Education and R & D Expenditure as % of GNP
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
1929	103.1	--	--	3,2	--	--	--
1930	90.3	0.16[a]	0.2	--	--	--	--
1931	75.8	--	--	2.9	3.8	3.1[f]	4,1
1932	58.0	0.19	0.3	2.3	4.1	2.5[f]	4.5
1933	55.6	--					
1934	65.0	0.17	0.3	2.6	3.6	2.8[f]	3.9
1935	72.2	--					
1936	82.4	0.21	0.3	3.0	3.3	3.2[f]	3.5
1937	90.4	--					
1938	84.6	0.26	0.3	3.2	3.5	3.5[f]	3.9
1939	90.4	--					
1940	99.6	0.34	0.3	0.3			
1941	124.5		0.90[e]	0.7	3.2	2.6	4.10 3.3
1942	157.9	0.38[abc]	1.07	0.7			
1943	191.5	0.56[ab]	1.20	0.6	3.5	1.8	4.65 2.4
1944	210.1	0.71[ab]	1.38				
1945	212.0		1.52	0.7	4.1	1.9	5.52 2.6
1946	208.5		1.78	0.9			
1947	231.3		2.26	1.0	6.5	2.8	8.54 3.7
1948	257.5		2.6[e]	1.0			
1949	256.4		2.6[e]	1.0	8.7	3.4	11.1 4.3
1950	284.7		2.8[e]	1.0			
1951	328.4		3.4[e]	1.0	11.3	3.4	14.5 4.4
1952	345.4		3.8[e]	1.1			
1953	364.5		5.2	1.4	13.9	3.8	18.64 5.1
1954	364.8		5.7	1.6			
1955	397.9		6.3	1.6	16.7	4.2	22.41 5.6
1956	419.2		8.5	2.0	19.2	4.6	27.03 6.4
1957	441.1		9.9	2.2	21.0	4.8	30.13 6.8
1958	447.3		10.9	2.4	22.4	5.0	32.41 7.2
1959	483.6		12.5	2.6	24.6	5.1	36.08 7.5
1960	503.7		13.7	2.7	27.0	5.4	39.51 7.8
1961	520.1		14.5	2.8	29.4	5.7	42.52 8.2
1962	560.3		15.6	2.8	32.4	5.8	46.39 8.3
1963	590.5		17.4	2.9	36.3	6.1	51.81 8.8
1964	631.7		19.2	3.0	39.7	6.3	56.68 9.0
1965	681.2		20.5	3.0	44.8	6.6	62.79 9.2

[a] "Expenditure on Fundamental and Applied Research," estimated in Science the Endless Frontier, by Vannevar Bush, 1945.

[b] Federal and State government-financed only.

[c] Id + expenditure of Universities and non-profitmaking bodies.

[d] Figures for the academic year beginning at the end of the calendar year shown in the first column. Source: Projection of Educational Statistics to 1975/76. US Office of Education.

[e] Source of this series; Department of Defense, Office of the Secretary; cf. Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1960, p. 538. These figures are regarded by F. Machlup as underestimating actual disbursements by about 20 or 30 percent (Production and Distribution of Knowledge, p. 156).

[f] Estimates.

[g] The purpose of the correction is to take account of R & D expenditures of universities.

Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Reviews of National Science Policy--United States, OECD, Paris, 1960, p. 30.

proportion--11.6% in 1965--to the universities. However, the great disparity stems from the different functions industry and the universities perform in the total research and development effort--the universities play a major role in research, while industry plays the major role in development. Thus, the greatest single share of the government's expenditures on fundamental research went in 1965 to the universities--46.4%--while industry received only 17.6% (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1968, Chapter 8).

Looking at the revenue sources of universities, in the period under study here the proportion of universities' revenues coming from the federal government increased from 4.3% in 1929-30 to 27.8% in 1963-64, while the proportion contributed by the local and state authorities remained roughly the same--about 30%. Together, public funds constituted 36.7% of the universities' funds in 1929-30, and 58.3% in 1963-64 (see Table 3).

The one area that received the highest share of the federal money within the universities is research and development. Most of the research and development in the universities is now financed by the federal government; in 1965, the latter financed 66.1% of the fundamental research, and 69.3% of the total research and development (see Tables 4 and 5).

In short, the importance attached by the federal government to the knowledge produced at the universities

TABLE 3.--United States funds in higher education earmarked for education and general university activity, by source, 1909-1964. (In millions of dollars)

	1909-10	1919-20	1929-30	1939-40	1949-50	1959-60	1963-64
Total (Millions of $)	73,041	173,143	485,348	575,796	1,846,815	4,712,547	7,788,500
	Percentages						
Own Funds,	42.2	37.2	44.8	42.8	29.5	32.7	31.1
of which: Tuition Fees	26.6	24.4	29.8	35.1	21.5	24.7	23.3
Benevolent Funds,	22.2	19.7	19.5	19.4	11.6	12.5	10.6
of which: Grants and Subsidies	4.9	4.4	5.4	7.0	6.4	8.1	7.2
Endowment Income	17.3	15.3	14.1	12.4	5.2	4.4	3.4
Public Funds,	35.6	43.1	36.7	37.8	58.9	54.8	58.3
of which: Federal Government	6.6	7.4	4.3	6.9	28.5	22.2	27.8
States				26.7	27.1	29.5	27.6
Local authorities	29.0	35.7	31.4	4.2	3.3	3.2	2.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Reviews of National Science Policy--United States, OECD, Paris, 1968, p. 514.

TABLE 4.--United States financing of total fundamental research expenditure of the universities and colleges, by source, 1953-1965. (In millions of dollars)

Year	Funds Used	Fed Gov't[a]	Industry	Own Funds	Non Profit Inst.
1953	206	106 (51.4)	12 (5.8)	73 (35.4)	15 (7.2)
1954	245	129 (52.6)	14	85 (34.6)	17
1955	286	152 (53.1)	16	99 (34.6)	19
1956	337	181 (53.7)	18	116 (34.4)	22
1957	402	220 (54.7)	21	136 (33.8)	25
1958	468	256 (54.7)	24	159 (33.9)	29
1959	560	318 (56.7)	24	185 (33.0)	33
1960	673	396 (58.8)	24	215 (31.9)	38
1961	816	497 (60.9)	25	250 (30.6)	44
1962	986	617 (62.5)	25	293 (29.7)	51
1963	1195	769 (64.3)	25	343 (28.7)	58
1964	1452	958 (65.9)	25	402 (27.6)	67
1965 (Prel.)	1690	1118 (66.1)	25 (1.4)	473 (27.9)	74 (4.3)

[a]Includes expenditures for Federal Contract Research Centers administered by the universities and colleges sector.

Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Reviews of National Science Policy--United States, OECD, Paris, 1968, p. 191.

TABLE 5.--United States financing of total university and college R & D expenditures, by source, 1953-1965. (In millions of dollars)

Year	Funds Used	Fed Gov't[a]	Industry	Own Funds	Non Profit Inst.
1953	460	260 (56.5)	20 (4.3)	150 (32.6)	30 (6.5)
1954	520	300 (57.6)	20	170 (32.6)	30
1955	590	350 (59.3)	20	190 (32.2)	30
1956	670	410 (61.1)	30	200 (29.8)	30
1957	770	470 (61.0)	30	230 (29.8)	40
1958	890	550 (61.7)	40	260 (29.2)	40
1959	1020	640 (62.7)	40	290 (28.4)	50
1960	1190	770 (64.7)	40	330 (27.7)	50
1961	1380	910 (65.9)	40	370 (26.8)	60
1962	1610	1080 (67.0)	40	420 (26.0)	70
1963	1890	1290 (68.2)	40	490 (25.9)	70
1964 est.	2220	1540 (69.3)	40	560 (25.2)	80
1965 est.	2510	1740 (69.3)	40 (1.5)	640 (25.4)	90 (3.5)

[a]Includes expenditures for Federal Contract Research Centers administered by the universities and colleges sector.

Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Reviews of National Science Policy--United States, OECD, Paris, 1968, p. 191.

can be seen by looking at the sizable increases in national expenditures on education in general, and higher education in particular, as well as at the increases in federal support for research and development at universities, and especially fundamental research. More than a quarter of the universities' total funds and more than two-thirds of their funds for research and development come now from federal sources.

There are few figures available for measuring the increase in the direct involvement of scientists in national decision making. The crucial question here is what universe should be considered. Some authorities have tried to count the numbers of scientific advisors to the different governmental bodies. Thus, Avery Leiserson counted the members of panels, sub-panels and consultants to the President's Science Advisory Committee (PSAC). He found that out of a total of 290 members, 50.7% were affiliated with universities, while the others came from research foundations, industry, and the government itself (Leiserson, 1965).

Several years before Leiserson, Charles Kidd estimated that "well over a thousand" scientists were members of different governmental advisory groups, of whom more than half were affiliated with universities (Kidd, 1959, p. 193). Kidd's estimate is based on membership of a "governmental advisory group"--a wider group than that studied by Leiserson. A third student of the subject, Christopher Wright, gives an estimate of 800-1000

individuals occupying positions in what he calls the "science affairs community." This community includes members of governmental advisory groups such as PSAC, government contractors for research and policy studies such as RAND and the Institute for Defense Analysis, the leadership of science organizations such as the National Academy of Sciences and the American Association for the Advancement of Science, administrators of large research facilities affiliated with universities, and some non-science organizations and publications (see Wright, 1964). The group that Wright has in mind is larger than the one Kidd was considering, yet Kidd's estimate is larger than Wright's.

The problem with all three figures is that they are based, for the purposes of this study, on very restricted definitions of "direct participation in the process of determination of alternatives for national choice." It seems that the concept should also include a good number of those scientists who are involved in the actual execution of the research projects contracted by the government --or at least those research projects where the practical application of results can be clearly seen. Much of the research done in the universities in the United States would be done, in other countries, in government institutions--and could therefore be more clearly identifiable with the process of national decision making. The fact that in the United States the research is done in the universities only reflects the peculiarities of the political

and social structure of the country, and not the nature of the research or its application.

Whatever figure and whatever definition of scientists' direct participation in the process of national decision making one chooses, one fact is beyond dispute--few of the positions included in the various definitions existed before World War II; most of those positions acquired their present status and structure only after Sputnik I (Wright, 1964, p. 263).

It should be pointed out here that most of the federal funds for research and development, as well as the majority of the leadership positions on the science advisory committees, go to the natural sciences. Yet, the role of the social sciences in national affairs has increased at a great pace too. In such areas as foreign affairs, defense strategy and management, urban reconstruction, civil rights, economic growth and stability, public health, social welfare, and education and training, the role of the social scientists has been steadily increasing. Looking at the governmental support for research in the social sciences in Table 6, it can be seen that although social scientists' share of the total government funds for scientific research is still small, the absolute figures increased seven-fold from 1956 to 1968. In the last few years, the rate of increase of federal support for the social sciences has been higher than that for other fields of science (see National Academy of Sciences,

TABLE 6.--Federal obligations for total research, by field of science, fiscal years 1956-1968. (In millions of dollars)

Field of Science	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
Life Sciences (Total)	208	292	342	417	511	629
Medical sciences	103	161	201	248	316	405
Biological sciences	61	75	81	105	128	161
Agricultural sciences	44	56	59	64	68	63
Psychological Sciences				24	38	51
Physical Sciences (Total)	614	597	697	898	1,323	1,764
Physical sciences, proper	246	263	334	464	608	860
Engineering sciences	357	322	350	415	690	364
Mathematical sciences	11	11	14	18	25	40
Social Sciences	30	36	40	31	35	45
Other Sciences				33	33	132
TOTAL, All Fields	852	925	1,079	1,403	1,941	2,620

Field of Science	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	Estimates 1967	Estimates 1968
Life Sciences (Total)	810	922	1,045	1,167	1,290	1,431	1,584
Medical sciences	550	602	676	725	811	909	1,020
Biological sciences	190	244	289	337	370	406	441
Agricultural sciences	71	76	80	105	109	116	124
Psychological Sciences	57	72	95	103	100	107	124
Physical Sciences (Total)	2,152	2,871	3,145	3,386	3,641	3,817	4,382
Physical sciences, proper	1,029	1,339	1,602	1,705	1,842	1,852	2,040
Engineering sciences	1,059	1,445	1,450	1,576	1,677	1,840	2,205
Mathematical sciences	64	87	93	105	123	124	137
Social Sciences	63	80	102	127	166	178	209
Other Sciences	190	97	77	70	74	90	91
TOTAL, All Fields	3,273	4,041	4,464	4,854	5,271	5,623	6,390

Source: The Behavioral Sciences and the Federal Government, National Academy of Sciences, Publication 1680, Washington, D.C., 1968, p. 40.

1968, pp. 35-43). In addition, it should be remembered that most social science research simply does not require as much money as natural science research, especially in so far as plant and instruments are concerned.

The trends towards increased involvement of the universities in national decision making seen above on a national level are also found in each of the two universities studied here--Harvard and Wisconsin.

For many years Harvard has been the closest thing America has to a national university--i.e., one to which the government turns most often when in need of special knowledge and advice, whose alumni and faculty are found in large numbers among the official leadership of the country, and whose opinion is respected by the mass media. However, the degree of mutual interest shown between the federal government and Harvard since the Second World War is unprecedented. Table 7 shows a constant increase in the proportion of Harvard's total income coming from the federal government--from 18% in 1952-53 to 37.8% in 1967-68. I have no tabulation of the proportion of research expenditures at Harvard financed by the government over the same years, but it has clearly been high throughout; in 1959, close to 70% of Harvard's federal money went for research (Harris, 1970, p. 246).

With respect to Harvard faculty directly participating in national decision making, I have no tabulation showing changes over time. One report shows twelve

TABLE 7.--Harvard University--percent of total income coming from the federal government, 1952-53 to 1967-68.

Year	Percent
1952-53	18.2
1953-54	17.5
1954-55	17.3
1955-56	17.4
1956-57	17.6
1957-58	19.0
1958-59	19.3
1959-60	24.2
1960-61	26.0
1961-62	27.6
1962-63	30.3
1963-64	32.7
1964-65	33.4
1965-66	34.7
1966-67	36.6
1967-68	37.8

Source: Years 1952-53 to 1962-63 are from Table 25 in Growth and Change at Harvard: Ten Years in Statistical Summary, President and Fellows of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass., 1964. Years 1963-64 to 1967-68 are from the annual Financial Reports of Harvard.

permanent members of the faculty on leave of absence working for the federal government (see Harvard and the Federal Government, 1967, pp. 191-214). On the other hand, in January, 1963, the Crimson quoted a Boston Globe report that between 800 and 1000 Harvard faculty members were then serving as part-time consultants to the federal government (out of a total of 5200 faculty members). In the Medical School alone, an official was quoted as saying that 50% of the school's faculty worked part time for the government (Crimson, 1.7.63).

Whatever the actual figures are, there is at Harvard a strong awareness of the role of its faculty in national affairs. Some of the best known university people in government, during the war as well as in the post-war period, came from Harvard--James Conant, McGeorge Bundy, Henry Kissinger, Patrick Moynihan. Over the years the Crimson has printed numerous features on such personalities, as well as on presidents, senators, and supreme court justices that have come from Harvard. The Crimson's own long-standing policy of coverage of national and international affairs, and, more especially, its editorial commentaries on those events, are a good indication of its editors' perception of the importance of Harvard opinion--even that of its undergraduates!--in national affairs.

At the University of Wisconsin the story is similar. The figures here are more complete than those for Harvard. The federal government's share of the university's total

revenues rose from 3.7% in 1930-31 to 25.5% in 1966-67 (see Table 8). As for federal participation in research expenditures, it increased from 15.7% in 1940 to a high of 62.2% in 1966-67, followed by a small decline (see Table 9). In both cases, the trends have been similar: an abrupt increase during the Second World War, a decline to pre-war levels immediately afterwards, followed by a steady increase beginning in the late forties and accentuated after Sputnik.

As for the state government's contribution to the university's total income, it declined from more than 50% in the early thirties to 32-34% in the middle sixties. The state's contribution to research expenditures declined even more sharply, from 54% in the early forties to 22% in the middle sixties, after which it began to rise once again (see Tables 8 and 9). By the late sixties the state and federal government together supported more than 80% of the research expenditures at Wisconsin, compared to 70% in the early forties. On the other hand, the total government support (state and federal) of the university, a public institution, has changed only slightly throughout the years--2.3% from the early thirties to the late sixties. Thus, at Wisconsin, rather than an increase in the proportion of public funds, the change has been in the source of these funds--the state's share has decreased and the federal government's has increased.

TABLE 8.--University of Wisconsin sources of income, 1930-1969. (Percentages)

Year	State	Students	Federal	Gifts
1930-31	53.83	22.57	3.69	2.16
1931-32	51.96	23.27	3.94	2.02
1932-33	61.70	21.74	4.74	2.48
1933-34	55.47	24.13	5.18	4.14
1934-35	52.50	25.05	4.89	4.96
1935-36	50.55	25.49	7.82	4.12
1936-37	48.10	26.05	7.15	6.00
1937-38	49.66	26.64	7.14	3.84
1938-39	46.35	25.69	7.02	8.38
1939-40	43.34	25.87	6.72	12.43
1940-41	35.5	15.8	7.1	6.5
1941-42	38.5	14.4	6.7	6.1
1942-43	32.7	9.0	19.9	3.4
1943-44	31.9	5.8	24.8	2.9
1944-45	30.4	9.0	22.2	3.4
1945-46	36.2	8.8	10.5	3.6
1946-47	24.5	17.1	6.0	4.9
1947-48	27.6	17.3	3.8	3.9
1948-49	32.4	14.0	5.0	5.2
1949-50	31.0	19.8	4.8	5.6
1950-51	40.0	14.8	6.4	4.6
1951-52	39.9	15.1	7.7	4.7
1952-53	43.2	13.6	7.3	4.8
1953-54	34.7	15.3	8.6	5.9
1954-55	39.5	12.8	9.2	6.0
1955-56	39.1	9.6	10.0	7.4
1956-57	39.8	10.0	10.5	8.0
1957-58	40.5	10.0	11.7	8.4
1958-59	38.1	9.9	13.6	8.6
1959-60	37.8	10.1	14.2	8.2
1960-61	35.6	10.0	16.9	8.6
1961-62	34.8	10.6	18.9	7.2
1962-63	34.1	10.5	21.2	7.2
1963-64	31.7	12.5	22.0	6.6
1964-65	32.7	11.7	22.6	6.7
1965-66	33.4	11.4	23.0	6.0
1966-67	34.5	11.0	25.5	5.4
1967-68	38.3	11.0	22.9	5.1
1968-69	40.5	10.7	18.7	4.6

Notes: The Student Fees column does not include adult education fees. All figures refer to all campuses of the University of Wisconsin. The figures for 1930-31 to 1949-50 are taken from comparative tables of income and expenditures that appeared up to the later year. The composition of the items State Appropriations and Student Fees changed between 1939-40 and 1940-41, the figures reported up 1930-40 being 6-8% larger for each item than those reported in the later years. The figures for Federal and Gift columns are the same throughout the period. From 1940-41 until 1949-50 the income of the Extension is listed separately, which accounts for higher figures for the State and Student figures after 1950-51, the Extension sums being distributed now between the different items.

Source: Annual Report of the Comptroller and the Report of the Vice-President of Business and Finance.

TABLE 9.--University of Wisconsin research expenditures by source of funds, 1940-41 to 1968-69. (Percentages)

Year	Federal Grants and Contracts	Federal Land Grant Approp.	Gifts & Trusts[a]	State
1940-41		15.7	30.6	53.7
1941-42		14.0	30.6	55.4
1942-43	6.1	13.4	26.6	53.9
1943-44	14.3	12.3	20.6	52.8
1944-45	14.7	11.3	17.8	56.2
1945-46	6.8	8.9	22.3	62.0
1946-47	3.0	6.7	31.1	59.2
1947-48	5.2	6.1	31.3	57.4
1948-49	10.3	6.5	30.4	52.8
1949-50	13.1	7.2	30.1	49.6
1950-51	15.6	7.1	29.2	48.1
1951-52	22.1	5.6	26.4	45.9
1952-53	23.0	5.3	26.9	44.8
1953-54	23.4	5.2	27.9	43.5
1954-55	22.1	7.0	31.3	39.6
1955-56	22.7	7.9	32.4	37.0
1956-57	24.2	8.1	33.9	33.8
1957-58	31.8	6.3	30.2	31.2
1958-59	36.0	5.8	29.8	28.4
1959-60	39.4	5.0	27.9	27.7
1960-61	44.8	4.1	26.6	24.5
1961-62	50.8	3.8	20.7	24.7
1962-63	55.0	3.5	18.5	23.0
1963-64	56.4	2.9	17.4	23.3
1964-65	55.8	3.1	18.3	22.7
1965-66	58.4	2.5	17.4	21.7
1966-67	59.7	2.5	15.2	22.6
1967-68	56.0	2.3	14.8	26.9
1968-69	55.3	2.3	15.2	27.2

[a]Includes the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation.

Source: Provided by Office of Research Administration, University of Wisconsin.

An attempt was made at Wisconsin to count the number of Wisconsin faculty members directly involved in governmental work, by consulting lists of faculty on leave. However, the lists were found to be incomplete and inconsistent in terms of the categories used in different years. Thus, there is no quantitative indication of this variable. However, as Wisconsin is one of the top universities in the country, and its faculty is rated among the top in the country, there is every reason to believe that Wisconsin faculty share in the national trend towards increased involvement in governmental decision making. In addition, it should be noted that the university's involvement in governmental affairs has a long-standing tradition at Wisconsin, dating from the era of the Wisconsin Idea--the idea that "the boundaries of the campus were the boundaries of the State, and that knowledge should be put to work, in every possible way, for the advancement of society" (University of Wisconsin, History Digest, 1970, p. 21). In fact, the high point of the university's involvement in the affairs of the state was in the first two decades of this century, especially during the administration of "Fighting Bob" LaFollette. Since then, the idea of service to the state has remained, and service to the national government is an extension of this same idea. The Mathematics Research Center of the United States Army is only one example of this idea.

To summarize, it is clear that scientists in the United States today, and the universities at which they are employed, have come to occupy a very important place in the national decision making structure. To quote Don K. Price:

> The United States is the only nation that has ever been willing to support and create private institutions to make studies on problems combining scientific and military considerations--problems of a sort that would elsewhere be considered the very heart of general staff planning. The private institutions that are now largely supported by military funds are the most important sources of independent, skeptical, and uninhibited criticism of military thinking (Price, 1954, pp. 143-144).

Clark Kerr has schematically explained the new role of the university thus:

> Knowledge is now central to society. It is wanted, even demanded, by more people and more institutions than ever before. The university as producer, wholesaler and retailer of knowledge cannot escape service (Kerr, 1966, p. 114).

In other words, what the university has to sell is very valuable to society, and therefore the university's place in society is now more prominent than before.

The trends that led towards the increasing prominence of the universities in national affairs started during the Second World War. In the immediate post-war years, there was a decline, as if the country was returning to the pre-war patterns. But very shortly afterwards, with the onset of the cold war, government-university relations became closer again. This relationship was steadily strengthened--as measured by governmental financing of education and research at the universities, and its use of university

personnel--and became even stronger with the launch of the first Soviet satellite. Only in the late sixties does one begin to see a decline in governmental support of the universities.

The national trends were reflected in the two schools studied. Both Harvard and Wisconsin are among the major recipients of federal money.* They are also among the major contributors of direct scientific advice--Harvard more so than Wisconsin, but both have a long tradition of public service--Wisconsin on a state level and Harvard on a national one.

Finally, the universities, despite frequent protestations of the dangers to academic freedom stemming from the growing alliance between university and government, have adjusted to the situation and expect it to continue:

> . . . Science and technology have done more than make academic research and teaching expensive; they have made them a necessary ingredient in national policy and in the advancement of human welfare. The university no longer expects to avoid involvement in public affairs, for it is by now all too clear that free universities and free political institutions are interdependent and their futures intertwined (Harvard and the Federal Government, 1967, p. 214).

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*It should be noted that not all universities participate in this trend in the same measure. In the early sixties, while 80% of the institutions of higher education were receiving some federal money, 5 institutions received 57% of the total, 20 received 79% and 66 received 92%. See Harvard and the Federal Government, 1967, p. 192.

Expansion of the Student Role Group

During the forty-year period studied here the membership of the student role group has greatly increased both in absolute numbers and in the proportion of students out of the college age population.

In 1929-30, the total student population (resident degree-credit enrollment) was slightly more than one million; in 1968 there were about seven million students enrolled in institutions of higher learning--i.e., a sevenfold increase (see Table 10). In 1968, 50.4% of the 18- and 19-year-olds, and 21.4% of the 20- to 24-year-olds were enrolled in school; the corresponding figures for 1946 are 24.3% and 10.2% (see Table 12). Finally, it has been calculated that out of every 1000 who entered fifth grade in 1930, 148 became college students, while out of the same number who entered fifth grade in 1959-60, 400 entered college (see Table 13).

Several sub-populations within the student role-group increased at a faster rate than the group as a whole. First, the proportion of women students increased from 31% in 1946 to 40% in 1969 (see Table 11). Secondly, graduate students constituted 11.1% of the total student population in 1968, compared to only 4.3% in 1929-30 (see Table 10). Thirdly, the population of public colleges and universities increased faster than that of private schools: while in 1946 the two populations were almost equal, in 1968 the

TABLE 10.--United States resident degree-credit enrollment in institutions of higher education related to total population and to age groups 18-21 and 18-24, 1869-70 to fall 1968.

Year	Population[a]			Resident degree-credit enrollment			Ratios			
							Total resident degree-credit students to 100 of--			Undergraduate resident degree-credit students to 100 of population 18-21
	Total[b]	Ages 18-21[c]	Ages 18-24[c]	Total	Undergraduate	Graduate	Total population	Population 18-21	Population 18-24	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Academic year:										
1869-70	39,818,449	3,116,000	4,574,000	52,286	[d]	[d]	0.13	1.68	1.14	[d]
1879-80	50,155,783	4,253,000	7,092,000	115,817	[d]	[d]	.23	2.72	1.63	[d]
1889-90	62,947,714	5,160,000	8,820,000	156,756	154,374	2,382	.25	3.04	1.78	2.99
1899-1900	75,994,575	5,931,000	10,375,000	237,592	231,761	5,831	.31	4.01	2.29	3.91
1909-10	90,492,000	6,934,000	12,300,000	355,213	346,060	9,153	.39	5.12	2.89	4.99
1919-20	104,512,000	7,386,000	12,830,000	597,880	582,268	15,612	.57	8.09	4.66	7.88
1929-30	121,770,000	8,862,000	15,280,000	1,100,737	1,053,482	47,255	.90	12.42	7.20	11.89
1939-40	131,028,000	9,582,000	16,458,000	1,494,203	1,388,455[e]	105,748[e]	1.14	15.59	9.08	14.49
1941-42	133,402,000	9,703,000	16,715,000	1,403,990	1,318,547[e]	85,443[e]	1.05	14.47	8.40	13.59
1943-44	136,739,000	9,706,000	16,914,000	1,155,272	1,096,041[e]	59,231[e]	.84	11.90	6.83	11.29
1945-46	139,928,000	9,557,000	16,790,000	1,676,851	1,555,599	121,252	1.20	17.55	9.99	16.28
1947-48	144,126,000	9,276,000	16,419,000	2,616,262	2,441,830	174,432	1.82	28.20	15.93	26.32
1949-50	149,188,000	8,990,000	16,120,000	2,659,021	2,421,813	237,208	1.78	29.58	16.50	26.94
1951-52	154,283,000	8,742,000	15,709,000	2,301,884	2,068,557	233,327	1.49	26.33	14.65	23.66
1953-54	159,559,000	8,441,000	15,221,000	2,514,712	2,237,713	276,999	1.58	29.79	16.52	26.51
1st term of academic year:										
November 1953	159,559,000	8,441,000	15,221,000	2,199,972	1,976,863	223,109	1.38	26.06	14.45	23.42
November 1955	165,276,000	8,508,000	14,966,000	2,597,670	2,347,656	250,014	1.57	30.53	17.36	27.59
1st term, 1957-58	171,278,000	8,844,000	15,118,000	2,899,565	2,621,919	277,646	1.69	32.79	19.18	29.65
1st term, 1959-60	177,830,000	9,190,000	15,677,000	3,215,544	2,873,724	341,820	1.81	34.99	20.51	31.27
1st term, 1961-62	183,756,000	10,253,000	16,961,000	3,726,114	3,328,288	397,826	2.03	36.34	21.97	32.46
Fall 1963	189,417,000	11,155,000	18,188,000	4,234,092	3,755,515	478,577	2.24	37.96	23.28	33.67
Fall 1968	201,152,000	14,342,000	22,787,000	6,659,203	5,851,279	807,924	3.31	46.43	29.22	40.80

[a]Armed Forces overseas are excluded from 1869-70 to 1929-30; they are included in 1939-40 and subsequent years.

[b]Data are actual census counts as of June 1 from 1870 to 1900; for later years they are estimates by the Bureau of Census as of July 1 preceding the fall term of each school year.

[c]Data from 1869-70 to 1939-40 are estimates by the Office of Education from figures for broad age groups supplied by the Bureau of the Census; data for later years are estimates by the Bureau of the Census.

[d]Data not available. [e]Distribution by level estimated.

Source: U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Digest of Educational Statistics, 1970, p. 67.

TABLE 11.--United States enrollment in institutions of higher education, by sex and by control of institution, fall 1946 to 1970.

Year	Total	Enrollment by Sex		Enrollment by Control of Institution	
		Men	Women	Public	Private
1	2	3	4	5	6
1946	2,078,095[a]	1,417,595[a]	660,500[a]	[b]	[b]
1947	2,338,226	1,659,249	678,977	1,152,377	1,185,849
1948	2,403,396	1,709,367	694,029	1,185,588	1,217,808
1949	2,444,900	1,721,572	723,326	1,207,151	1,237,749
1950	2,281,298	1,560,392	720,906	1,139,699	1,141,599
1951	2,101,962	1,390,740	711,222	1,037,938	1,064,024
1952	2,134,242	1,380,357	753,885	1,101,240	1,033,002
1953	2,231,054	1,422,598	808,456	1,185,876	1,045,178
1954	2,446,693	1,563,382	883,311	1,353,531	1,093,162
1955	2,653,034	1,733,184	919,850	1,476,282	1,176,752
1956	2,918,212	1,911,458	1,006,754	1,656,402	1,261,810
1957	3,036,938	1,985,088	1,051,850	1,752,669	1,284,269
1958	3,226,038	2,092,218	1,133,820	1,883,960	1,392,404
1959	3,364,861	2,153,565	1,211,296	1,972,457	1,392,078
1960	3,582,726	2,256,877	1,325,849	2,115,893	1,466,833
1961	3,860,643	2,408,601	1,452,042	2,328,912	1,531,731
1962	4,174,936	2,587,291	1,587,645	2,573,720	1,601,216
1963	4,494,626	2,772,562	1,722,064	2,848,454	1,646,172
1964	4,950,173	3,032,992	1,917,181	3,179,527	1,770,646
1965	5,526,325	3,374,603	2,151,722	3,624,442	1,901,883
1966[a]	5,928,000	3,577,000	2,351,000	3,940,000	1,988,000
1967[a]	6,392,000	3,822,000	2,570,000	4,349,000	2,043,000
1968	6,928,115	4,119,002	2,809,113	4,891,743	2,036,372
1969[a]	7,299,000	4,317,000	2,982,000	5,388,000	1,911,000
1970[a]	7,612,000	4,478,000	3,134,000	5,618,000	1,994,000

[a]Estimated. [b]Data not available.

Note:

Beginning in 1960, data are for 50 States and District of Columbia; data for earlier years are for 48 States and District of Columbia. Beginning in 1953, enrollment figures include resident and extension degree-credit students; data for earlier years exclude extension students.

Source: U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Digest of Educational Statistics, 1970, p. 67.

TABLE 12.--United States percent of the population five to thirty-four years old enrolled in school, by age, October 1947 to October 1968.

Year	Total, 5 to 34 Years	5 Years[a]	6 Years[a]	7 to 9 Years	10 to 13 Years	14 and 15 Years	16 and 17 Years	18 and 19 Years	20 to 24 Years	25 to 29 Years	30 to 34 Years
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1947	42.3	53.4	96.2	98.4	98.6	91.6	67.6	24.3	10.2	3.0	1.0
1948	43.1	55.0	96.2	98.3	98.0	92.7	71.2	26.9	9.7	2.6	.9
1949	43.9	55.1	96.2	98.5	98.7	93.5	69.5	25.3	9.2	3.8	1.1
1950	44.2	51.8	97.0	98.9	98.6	94.7	71.3	29.4	9.0	3.0	.9
1951	45.4	53.8	96.0	99.0	99.2	94.8	75.1	26.3	8.3	2.5	.7
1952	46.8	57.8	96.8	98.7	98.9	96.2	73.4	28.7	9.5	2.6	1.2
1953	48.8	58.4	97.7	99.4	99.4	96.5	74.7	31.2	11.1	2.9	1.7
1954	50.0	57.7	96.8	99.2	99.5	95.8	78.0	32.4	11.2	4.1	1.5
1955	50.8	58.1	98.2	99.2	99.2	95.9	77.4	31.5	11.1	4.2	1.6
1956	52.3	58.9	97.0	99.4	99.2	96.9	78.4	35.4	12.8	5.1	1.9
1957	53.6	60.2	97.4	99.5	99.5	97.1	80.5	34.9	14.0	5.5	1.8
1958	54.8	63.8	97.3	99.5	99.5	96.9	80.6	37.6	13.4	5.7	2.2
1959	55.5	62.9	97.5	99.4	99.4	97.5	82.9	36.8	12.7	5.1	2.2
1960	56.4	63.7	98.0	99.6	99.5	97.8	82.6	38.4	13.1	4.9	2.4
1961	56.8	66.3	97.4	99.4	99.3	97.6	83.6	38.0	13.7	4.4	2.0
1962	57.8	66.8	97.9	99.2	99.3	98.0	84.3	41.8	15.6	5.0	2.6
1963	58.5	67.8	97.4	99.4	99.3	98.4	87.1	40.9	17.3	4.9	2.5
1964	58.7	68.5	98.2	99.0	99.0	98.6	87.7	41.6	16.8	5.2	2.6
1965	59.7	70.1	98.7	99.3	99.4	98.9	87.4	46.3	19.0	6.1	3.2
1966	60.0	72.8	97.6	99.3	99.3	98.6	88.5	47.2	19.9	6.5	2.7
1967	60.2	75.0	98.4	99.4	99.1	98.2	88.8	47.6	22.0	6.6	4.0
1968	60.0	74.9	98.3	99.1	99.1	98.0	90.2	50.4	21.4	7.0	3.9

[a]Includes children enrolled in kindergarten.

Source: U. S. Office of Health, Education and Welfare, Digest of Educational Statistics, 1969, p. 4.

TABLE 13.--United States estimated retention rates,[a] fifth grade through college entrance, in public and nonpublic schools, 1924-32 to 1959-67.

Sch. yr. Pupils Entered 5th Grade	Retention per 1,000 Pupils Who Entered 5th Grade								High School Graduates	Yr. of H. S. Graduation	First Time College Studn.
	5th Grade	6th Grade	7th Grade	8th Grade	9th Grade	10th Grade	11th Grade	12th Grade			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1924-25	1,000	911	798	741	612	470	384	344	302	1932	118
1926-27	1,000	919	824	754	677	552	453	400	333	1934	129
1928-29	1,000	939	847	805	736	624	498	432	378	1936	137
1930-31	1,000	943	872	824	770	652	529	463	417	1938	148
1932-33	1,000	935	889	831	786	664	570	510	455	1940	160
1934-35	1,000	953	892	842	803	711	610	512	467	1942	129
1936-37	1,000	954	895	849	839	704	554	425	393	1944	121
1938-39	1,000	955	908	853	796	655	532	444	419	1946	[b]
1940-41	1,000	968	910	836	781	697	566	507	481	1948	[b]
1942-43	1,000	954	909	847	807	713	604	539	505	1950	205
1944-45	1,000	952	929	858	848	748	650	549	522	1952	234
1946-47	1,000	954	945	919	872	775	641	583	553	1954	283
1948-49	1,000	984	956	929	863	795	706	619	581	1956	301
1950-51	1,000	981	968	921	886	809	709	632	582	1958	308
1952-53	1,000	974	965	936	904	835	746	667	621	1960	328
1954-55	1,000	980	979	948	915	855	759	684	642	1962	343
1956-57	1,000	985	984	948	930	871	790	728	676	1964	362
1958-59[c]	1,000	985	978	960	940	906	838	782	717	1966	394
1959-60[c]	1,000	990	983	976	966	928	853	785	721	1967	400

[a]Rates for the 5th grade through high school graduation are based on enrollments in successive grades in successive years in public elementary and secondary schools and are adjusted to include estimates for nonpublic schools. Rates for first-time college enrollment are based on data supplied to the Office of Education by institutions of higher education.

[b]Retention rates not calculated because of the influx of veterans in institutions of higher education.

[c]Preliminary data.

Source: U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Digest of Educational Statistics, 1969, p. 7.

population of public schools was 2 1/2 times larger than that of the private ones (see Table 14).

Turning to the corresponding trends in the two schools studied, the student population of the University of Wisconsin increased from 9,401 in 1930-31 to 35,549 in 1969-70 (first semester enrollment, Madison campus only; see Table 15). This is a four-fold increase.* During the same period, the graduate population increased nine times, and in 1969-70 graduates and professionals constituted 28% of the total enrollment, compared to 12% in 1930-31 (see Table 16).

The proportion of women at the Madison campus fluctuated throughout the years: from a high of 38-39% in the middle twenties, it decreased to 30-32% throughout the late thirties. The proportion increased significantly during the war years, decreasing again afterwards to 24-26%. In the late forties the proportion of women began to rise, until in 1969-70 it reached almost 40% (see Table 15).

At Harvard the increase in the student population was much more moderate than that at Wisconsin. In 1968-69 Harvard had a total population of 15,468 students, compared to 9,572 in 1930-31, i.e., an increase of slightly more

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*This compares with a seven-fold national increase in student population. Although some schools around the country may have had a higher rate of increase than Wisconsin, the difference in the above rates is due mainly to the increase in the number of institutions of higher education (see Table 14).

TABLE 14.--United States number of public and private schools, by level, 1930 to 1964.

Type of School	1930	1940	1950	1960	1962	1964
Elementary	247,581	194,418	138,600	105,427	96,672	92,400[a]
Public	238,306	183,112[b]	128,225	91,853	81,910	77,584
One-teacher	149,282	107,692[b]	59,652	20,213	13,333	9,895
Nonpublic[a]	9,275	11,306	10,375	13,574	14,762	NA[c]
Secondary	27,188	28,691	27,873	29,845	29,479	30,882
Public	23,930	25,123[b]	24,542	25,784	25,350	26,431
Nonpublic[a]	3,258	3,568	3,331	4,061	4,129	4,451
Institutions of Higher Education[d]	1,409	1,708	1,851	2,008	2,037	2,132
Public	519	603	641	701	721	760
Private	890	1,105	1,210	1,307	1,316	1,372

[a]Partially estimated.

[b]1942 data.

[c]NA, not available.

[d]Universities, colleges, professional schools, teachers colleges, junior colleges, and U.S. service academies.

NOTE: Prior to 1960, excludes Alaska and Hawaii. Schools classified by type of organization, rather than by grade-group; elementary excludes kindergarten and secondary includes junior high school.

Source: U.S., Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1967.

TABLE 15.--University of Wisconsin, Madison campus, first semester enrollment, by sex, 1930-1969.

Year	Total Enrollment	Men	Women	% Women
1969-70	35,549	21,626	13,923	39.2
1968-69	34,670	21,140	13,530	38.0
1967-68	33,000	20,350	12,650	38.3
1966-67	31,120	19,089	12,031	38.7
1965-66	29,299	18,212	11,087	37.8
1964-65	26,293	16,631	9,662	36.7
1963-64	24,275	15,527	8,748	36.0
1962-63	21,733	14,004	7,729	35.6
1961-62	20,118	13,193	6,925	34.4
1960-61	18,811	12,540	6,271	33.3
1959-60	17,433	11,807	5,626	32.3
1958-59	16,590	11,630	4,960	29.9
1957-58	15,929	11,253	4,676	29.4
1956-57	15,918	11,378	4,540	28.5
1955-56	15,134	10,778	4,356	28.8
1954-55	13,954	9,741	4,213	30.2
1953-54	13,346	9,192	4,154	31.1
1952-53	13,571	9,518	4,053	29.9
1951-52	14,020	9,977	4,043	28.8
1950-51	15,766	11,540	4.226	26.8
1949-50	17,690	13,345	4,345	24.6
1948-49	18,623	14,095	4,528	24.3
1947-48	18,693	13,905	4,788	25.6
1946-47	18,598	13,458	5,140	27.6
1945-46	9,028	3,726	5,302	58.7
1944-45	6,615	2,264	4,351	65.8
1943-44	5,904	2,462	3,442	58.3
1942-43	9,026	5,583	3,443	38.1
1941-42	10,511	6,850	3,661	34.8
1940-41	11,376	7,656	3,720	32.7
1939-40	11,286	7,755	3,531	31.3
1938-39	11,416	7,896	3,520	30.8
1937-38	10,905	7,561	3,344	30.7
1936-37	10,071	6,884	3,187	31.6
1935-36	9,065	6,190	2,875	31.7
1934-35	8,053	5,436	2,617	32.5
1933-34	7,374	4,812	2,562	34.7
1932-33	7,833	5,132	2,701	34.5
1931-32	8,765	5,647	3,118	35.6
1930-31	9,401	5,937	3,464	36.8

Source: Obtained from the University of Wisconsin Office of Institutional Studies.

TABLE 16.--University of Wisconsin, Madison campus, first semester graduate and professional enrollment, 1930-1969.

Year	Total Enrollment	Graduate & Professional Enrollment	% Graduate & Professional Enrollment
1969-70	35,549	11,046	31.07
1968-69	34,670	11,083	31.97
1967-68	33,000	10,137	30.72
1966-67	31,120	9,235	29.68
1965-66	29,299	8,415	28.72
1964-65	26,293	7,582	28.84
1963-64	24,275	6,480	26.70
1962-63	21,733	5,667	26.08
1961-62	20,188	5,182	25.67
1960-61	18,118	4,846	26.75
1959-60	17,433	4,501	25.82
1958-59	16,590	4,279	25.80
1957-58	15,929	3,775	23.70
1956-57	15,918	3,793	23.83
1955-56	15,134	3,485	23.03
1954-55	13,954	3,378	24.21
1953-54	13,346	3,335	24.99
1952-53	13,571	3,553	26.18
1951-52	14,020	3,881	27.68
1950-51	15,766	4,118	26.12
1949-50	17,690	3,847	21.75
1948-49	18,623	3,448	18.51
1947-48	18,693	3,035	16.24
1940-41	11,376	1,888	16.60
1930-31	9,401	1,726	18.36

Source: Obtained from the University of Wisconsin Office of Institutional Studies.

than 60%. The graduate population increased faster than the undergraduate one--71% and 47%, respectively. The sex distribution among undergraduates--i.e., that between Harvard College and Radcliffe--remained the same throughout the years. In the graduate schools, though, the number of women increased considerably--from 323 (6%) in 1930-31 to 1414 (15%) in 1968-69 (see Table 17).

To summarize, the student role group has increased seven-fold nationally in the period under study. One out of every two college-age youngsters now enters college, making for a total of more than seven million college students. The absolute numbers are important in themselves. For example, even if only a minority of the students harbor anti-war sentiments and participate in demonstrations--say 10%--that makes 700,000 people, or 1,500 undergraduates and graduates at Harvard, and 3,500 in Madison. Furthermore, in many college towns, such as Madison, the student population comprises a substantial part of the community and supports much of the local economy.

The pattern of increase has been different at Wisconsin and Harvard. At Wisconsin there was a four-fold total increase--while at Harvard only a 60% increase. Both schools, however, follow the national trends--since nationally the increase of the private university population has been lower than that of the public one (see Table 11). In both schools the growth of the graduate population has been faster than that of the undergraduate one--more so at

TABLE 17.--Harvard University enrollments, 1930-1968.

Year	Harvard College	Radcliffe College	Graduate Students		Total
			Men	Women	
1968-69	4778	1198	8078	1414	15468
1967-68	4834	1209	7814	1311	15168
1966-67	4850	1215	7384	1330	14779
1965-66	4900	1193	7389	1344	14826
1964-65	4785	1176	7154	1208	14323
1963-64	4719	1150	6734	1268	13871
1962-63	4737	1163	6716	1095	13711
1961-62	4722	1138	6679	1025	13564
1960-61	4595	1153	6544	968	13260
1959-60	4541	1166	6402	929	13038
1958-59	4482	1112	6360	848	12802
1957-58	4488	1074	6048	781	12391
1956-57	4431	1046	5785	738	12000
1955-56	4452	1010	5608	714	11784
1954-55	4430	1022	5604	698	11754
1953-54	4381	1026	5677	408	11492
1952-53	4423	1026	5730	394	11573
1951-52	4506	1002	5733	350	11591
1950-51	4676	986	5956	307	11925
1949-50	5030	947	5677	331	11985
1948-49	5346	971	5962	341	12620
1947-48	5978	993	8522	417	15910
1946-47	6054	954	8544	441	15993
1945-46	1490	889	2538	428	5345
1944-45	745	843	1265	335	3188
1943-44	1239	815	1655	306	4015
1942-43	3807	796	3192	278	8073
1941-42	3554	743	3689	266	8252
1940-41	3561	757	4590	285	9193
1939-40	3574	808	4805	259	9446
1938-39	3684	822	4899	267	9672
1937-38	3713	802	4576	275	9366
1936-37	3735	780	4528	254	9297
1935-36	3726	813	4144	225	8908
1934-35	3593	819	4136	222	8770
1933-34	3450	835	4488	240	9013
1932-33	3390	834	4838	232	9324
1931-32	3266	822	5270	266	9624
1930-31	3240	807	5202	323	9572

Source: Yearly Harvard Catalogue and Radcliffe's Annual Report of the President.

Wisconsin than at Harvard. Sex distributions in both schools have remained largely the same--with the exception of the graduate population of Harvard.

Change in the Composition of the Student Role Group

The numerical expansion of the student role group over the last forty years has been accompanied by a change in the composition of the group. Generally speaking, while the student population at the start of the period under study here was predominantly upper middle class, white, Protestant, and from the country's Northeast, the present student population is predominantly middle class--with an increasing representation of working class students, a higher representation of Catholics and Jews, more blacks than at any previous time, and students from every geographical area in the United States. This increasing heterogeneity of the student population has brought college life closer to the "real world"; or, in different terms, there is less separation now between town and gown, because more of the town can wear the gown. To be sure, the student population is still far from being representative of the American population as a whole--blacks and working class Americans, for example, are very under-represented--but a greater variety of social interests and preoccupations is now directly represented on campus than was the case thirty or forty years ago.

As mentioned above, good time series statistics on the above variables are lacking. Many of the changes discussed below have been pointed out by various students in the field, but all acknowledge the lack of good supporting statistics (see, for example, Wise, 1958, Chapter 2).

With respect to the socio-economic composition of the national student body, the general opinion is that while one out of two college-age youth is today in college, compared to one in ten in the late twenties, the bulk of the increase has come from the upper and middle classes, rather than from the lower classes (Jencks & Riesman, 1969, pp. 95-97). In other words, the increasing enrollments are due mainly to a trend towards universal higher education for upper and middle class youth. Yet, although data are not abundant, it appears that the proportion of lower middle class and working class college-age youth going to college has been increasing faster since the Second World War than ever before. This point is supported by data on changes in aspirations of the American population regarding higher education, to be presented later in this chapter.

With respect to religious and ethnic representation within the national student body, there are no good longitudinal data. The literature on Catholic higher education deals with Catholic schools, and no figures on proportions of Catholics in non-Catholic colleges could be found. The proportion of Jews going to college has increased considerably (Newsweek, March 1, 1971, p. 61). As far as

representation of different nationalities is concerned, again no figures are available.

More blacks are now going to colleges than ever before. In the ten years from 1955 to 1965, the proportion of blacks aged 18 to 24 enrolled in institutions of higher learning rose from 13.5% to 20.1%. It should be noted, though, that the rate of increase was higher for whites (17.7% to 29.3%), and furthermore, that more whites than nonwhites in that age group were enrolled in college (see U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1967). In other words, despite the gains in black college enrollment, those made by whites were even more impressive. Since 1965, black enrollment has apparently doubled; furthermore, the increases of the last two decades came mainly in colleges that are not predominantly black. During the first half of this century, about 80% of all black college graduates came from black colleges; now only about a third of all black college students attend those schools (see Newsweek, March 1, 1971, p. 68; see also U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1969, Table 190).

Beyond the above figures, the most concrete evidence for the increasing presence of blacks in American colleges is the fact that while before the Second World War and during the fifties the organizations that fought against discrimination were white, now there are enough blacks in most big schools to fight their causes on their own.

Finally, as to geographical distribution of the student body, the fact that college attendance has spread throughout the United States can be gathered from looking at the statistics of higher education for the states in the publications of the U.S. Office of Education. With respect to individual schools, the relevant question is the proportion of out-of-state students. Although the patterns of student migration have not changed nationally in the last forty years (see Gossman et al., 1968), some interesting changes were found in the schools studied.

Turning to changes in the composition of the student bodies of Harvard and Wisconsin, no systematic longitudinal data on the socio-economic characteristics of Wisconsin's students are available. Such studies as exist are limited to the sixties. One study of a sample of undergraduates conducted in April of 1965 showed that:

> . . . much higher proportions of the fathers of resident students were in professional, semi-professional, or managerial and official occupations than was true of Wisconsin men (state of Wisconsin--S.S.), and much lower proportions of the fathers of respondents were in skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled occupations than was true of Wisconsin men in general (Lins, Abell, & Stucki, 1967).

Among the fathers of the men undergraduates, 22.8% were skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled, while in the Wisconsin population as a whole, the corresponding percentage was 49.7%, according to the 1960 Census. On the other hand, professionals, managers and officials accounted for 49.2% of the men's fathers, while their proportion in the state

population was 18.5% (Lins, Abell, & Stucki, 1967, p. 64). In other words, Wisconsin follows the national pattern: although the representation of lower-middle class and working class youth may have increased in the last forty years, it is still far from being proportional to their numbers in the population of the state.

As for ethnic representation at Wisconsin, there are indications that "new" middle class students, especially Catholics and Jews, have increased their representation (Longhi, 1969, p. 92). The Jewish representation is especially high among the out-of-state students (Longhi, 1969, p. 92). Although there are no time-series on black students, it is my impression from reading the Cardinal that their absolute numbers are greater now than ever before, but that their proportion in the total student body is still very small.

A question of traditional importance at Wisconsin has been the number of out-of-state students. Wisconsin has always attracted such students because of its high academic reputation as well as its tradition of liberalism. What do the figures show? During the late twenties, out-of-state students comprised about 30% of the student body. Their proportion fell to 15-17% during the thirties, rose to above 30% during the Second World War, and fell subsequently to 16-17% in the late forties. After that, the proportion of out-of-staters increased steadily, especially in the early sixties, reaching a high of 35% in 1966-67 and

1967-68. At that point the Board of Regents decided to limit the admission of out-of-staters. Among graduate students, the proportion of out-of-state students is greater than among the undergraduates (see Table 18).

For Harvard there are no longitudinal data with respect to the socio-economic characteristics of its students. Some figures have appeared in the President's Reports, and Seymour Harris has analyzed some unpublished sources for additional statistics. According to Harris, "Harvard has been and still is a college for the children of business and professional families and of families with average incomes more than twice the national average" (Harris, 1970, p. 11). Most of the evidence presented by Harris shows that although the great mjaority of Harvard's students come from upper class families, there has been a trend towards increasing representation of the clerical, sales and working classes. One of the factors accounting for that increase is the scholarship program, since the majority of students of lower classes are on scholarships (Harris, 1970, pp. 11-15). An indirect indication of a change in the socio-economic composition of Harvard's student body is the continuous decline in the proportion of students coming from private, preparatory high schools (see below); this is only a partial indication, though, since those who studied at public high schools are not necessarily of lower socio-economic background.

With respect to ethnic and racial representation in the Harvard student body, there are no longitudinal data

TABLE 18.--University of Wisconsin, Madison campus, non-resident students (home address basis), 1930-1969.

Year	Undergraduate			Professional			Graduate			Total		
	Non-Residents		Total Number	Non-Residents		Total Number	Non-Residents		Total Number	Non-Residents		Total Number
	Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent	
1969-70	6,290	24.6	25,561	164	15.5	1,058	4,426	49.6	8,930	10,880	30.6	35,549
1968-69	6,839	27.8	24.617	173	16.8	1,030	4,552	50.4	9,023	11,564	33.4	34,670
1967-68	6,614	28.9	22,863	201	18.7	1,074	4,743	52.3	9,063	11,558	35.0	33,000
1966-67	6,609	30.2	21,885	154	15.2	1,013	4,382	53.3	8,222	11,145	35.8	31,120
1965-66	5,866	28.1	20,884	169	16.6	1,020	3,840	51.9	7,395	9,875	33.7	29,299
1964-65	5,104	27.3	18,711	132	13.3	995	3,444	52.3	6,587	8,680	33.0	26,293
1963-64	4,816	27.1	17,795	104	12.0	867	2,924	52.1	5,613	7,844	32.3	24,275
1962-63	4,134	25.7	16,066	99	12.3	805	2,607	53.6	4,862	6,840	31.5	21,733
1961-62	3,645	24.4	14,936	91	11.6	786	2,358	53.6	4,396	6,094	30.3	20,118
1960-61	3,427	24.5	13,965	89	11.1	800	2,149	53.1	4,046	5,665	30.1	18,811
1959-60	2,738	21.2	12,932	73	9.1	800	1,963	53.0	3,701	4,774	27.4	17,433
1958-59	2,394	19.4	12,311	78	9.2	848	1,736	50.6	3,431	4,208	25.4	16,590
1957-58	2,172	17.9	12,154	55	7.0	785	1,578	52.8	2,990	3,805	23.9	15,929
1956-57	2,075	16.9	12,306	53	6.5	816	1,457	52.1	2,796	3,585	22.5	15,918

Year	Undergraduate & Professional			Graduate			Total		
	Non-Residents		Total Number	Non-Residents		Total Number	Non-Residents		Total Number
	Number	Percent		Number	Percent		Number	Percent	
1955-56	1,973	15.8	12,466	1,269	47.6	2,668	3,242	21.4	15,134
1954-55	1,892	16.6	11,371	1,155	44.7	2,583	3,047	21.8	13,954
1953-54	1,786	16.5	10,821	1,173	46.5	2,525	2,959	22.2	13,346
1952-53	1,750	16.1	10,870	1,183	43.8	2,701	2,933	21.6	13,571
1951-52	1,773	16.0	11,109	1,283	44.1	2,911	3,056	21.8	14,020
1950-51	1,672	13.2	12,640	1,469	47.0	3,126	3,141	19.9	15,766
1949-50	1,667	11.2	14,868	1,375	48.7	2,822	3,042	17.2	17,690
1948-49	No Data	No Data	16,055	No Data	No Data	2,568	3,278	17.6	18,623
1947-48	No Data	No Data	16,539	No Data	No Data	2,154	3,108	16.6	18,693
1946-47	No Data	No Data	17,669	No Data	No Data	2,213	3,891	19.6	19,882
1945-46	3,427	28.1	12,180	731	48.1	1,519	4,157	30.3	13,699
1944-45	2,221	33.3	6,678	326	48.9	666	2,547	34.7	7,344
1943-44	1,731	28.8	6,011	295	45.2	653	2,025	30.4	6,664
1942-43	1,625	18.8	8,653	424	52.2	813	2,049	21.6	9,466
1941-42	1,667	16.8	9,906	562	45.8	1,227	2,229	20.0	11,133
1940-41	1,629	15.3	10,620	583	41.9	1,392	2,212	18.4	12,012
1939-40	1,468	13.9	10,557	582	41.8	1,392	2,050	17.2	11,949
1938-39	1,453	13.6	10,669	604	41.2	1,465	2,057	17.0	12,134
1937-38	1,314	13.0	10,128	553	38.8	1,424	1,867	16.2	11,552
1936-37	1,220	13.1	9,328	492	36.4	1,351	1,712	16.0	10,679
1935-36	1,071	12.7	8,418	379	31.6	1,199	1,450	15.1	9,617
1934-35	1,105	14.6	7,580	302	28.0	1,077	1,407	16.3	8,657
1933-34	1,127	16.3	6,923	309	29.9	1,034	1,436	18.0	7,957
1932-33	1,368	19.2	7,115	396	30.3	1,308	1,764	20.9	8,423
1931-32	1,878	23.6	7,971	547	39.5	1,384	2,425	25.9	9,355
1930-31	2,396	27.5	8,698	604	46.4	1,303	3,000	30.0	10,001

Source: Provided by the University of Wisconsin Office of Institutional Studies.

available. Seymour Harris stresses "the great strides made since 1930" in the "number of student and faculty from minority groups and also the advances of minority groups in important student activities." He quotes a study showing that of all ivy-league schools, Harvard has the best record with respect to black representation. Harris praises President Conant and Dean Buck for these changes (Harris, 1970, p. 17). With respect to religious representation, parallel changes have apparently taken place, especially in the graduate schools (Harris, 1970, p. 16; see also, on Jewish representation in Harvard student body and faculty, Newsweek, March 1, 1971, p. 61).

As to geographical distribution of Harvard College students, there has been a notable change during the period under study; the proportion of Massachusetts students steadily decreased, from 50% in the early thirties to 21% in the late sixties. While New Englanders constituted 56% of the student body in 1930, they are now only about 30%. Finally, whereas students from New England and the Middle Atlantic states constituted almost 85% of the student body in the early thirties, they now constitute only about 60%. The representation of the Middle Atlantic states has remained relatively stable throughout the years (see Table 19).

As far as Radcliffe is concerned, students from outside Massachusetts comprised only 34.1% of its student body in 1930; in 1968 they made up 78% (see Table 20).

TABLE 19.--Harvard geographic distribution of admitted and admitted-registered[a] students, by state of residence,[b] 1930 to 1968.

Year	Massa-chusetts	New England	Middle Atlantic	South	Northwest	Central	Mountain Pacific
1968	21.7	28.9	28.9	9.8	15.8	3.1	10.4
1967	21.2	29.5	29.2	9.1	14.5	3.4	11.3
1966	22.6	30.8	26.7	11.4	14.4	3.0	10.1
1965	22.7	31.1	26.9	9.9	15.5	3.7	9.6
1964	23.2	30.0	25.5	10.4	15.4	4.2	10.2
1963	21.8	29.7	27.1	8.5	16.8	3.8	11.2
1962	22.0	31.3	29.1	7.3	14.0	4.4	9.8
1961	21.2	28.0	30.2	9.4	15.5	4.3	8.8
1960	21.0	30.8	27.6	8.3	16.9	3.9	9.4
1959	21.3	29.1	30.5	8.1	17.1	3.9	8.3
1958	22.7	29.5	32.8	6.3	14.6	4.6	9.0
1957	26.4	33.9	30.1	9.0	12.4	3.7	6.9
1956	28.2	36.3	28.4	7.2	12.7	4.6	8.3
1955	26.6	34.3	29.0	6.5	14.4	5.2	7.1
1954	29.0	35.4	31.3	5.6	15.3	4.1	5.5
1953	31.7	39.8	27.3	6.1	12.5	4.7	6.4
1952	35.8	44.0	27.7	5.6	12.4	2.9	4.8
1951	31.9	39.5	28.3	6.5	13.2	3.5	8.0
1950	31.8	39.3	26.4	6.8	15.0	4.1	7.6
1949	35.3	41.8	24.8	4.8	15.3	4.9	7.8
1948	33.8	41.8	27.4	5.5	12.6	4.0	7.9
1947	34.4	41.0	30.7	4.5	15.0	3.4	5.0
1946	31.6	38.9	31.1	5.1	14.5	4.1	5.9
1945	37.4	45.3	32.1	5.6	10.6	2.2	3.4
1944	38.8	45.5	31.6	5.3	11.6	2.7	2.6
1943	39.9	47.0	32.8	4.5	10.3	2.5	2.5
1942	36.5	43.3	22.3	5.5	16.5	5.0	6.9
1941	40.4	47.6	26.3	3.7	13.6	3.9	4.3
1940	42.5	49.4	25.1	4.3	14.0	2.4	4.1
1939	36.8	44.1	27.1	4.7	13.7	4.9	5.2
1938	34.8	42.5	31.2	3.3	15.2	3.1	4.2
1937	39.1	46.4	28.0	4.3	11.6	3.1	5.9
1936	35.7	41.1	25.3	6.7	19.1	4.5	2.5
1935	44.8	50.6	25.3	3.2	16.1	2.6	1.7
1934	44.8	52.6	24.4	2.5	15.7	2.1	2.1
1933	50.9	57.7	28.3	2.9	7.8	.7	2.1
1932	50.1	56.6	28.9	2.2	7.7	1.6	2.5
1931	48.9	54.3	29.5	2.3	8.6	2.8	1.3
1930	49.4	56.1	27.1	2.5	9.6	2.3	1.2

[a]The figures up to 1951 refer to those admitted; those from 1952 to 1968 refer to those admitted and registered. On the basis of a few years when both categories were listed, it could be seen that the percentage of students from New England among the registered is higher than that among the admitted, while that of students from the other areas of the country is lower; i.e., the preponderance of New England in the earlier years is even more salient than could be gathered from the figures here presented.

[b]Does not include students from the U.S. territories nor foreign students.

Source: The yearly Report of the President.

TABLE 20.--Radcliffe College percentage of students from outside of Massachusetts, 1930-1969.

Year	Percent
1964	78.0
1963	78.6
1962	77.5
1961	76.7
1960	76.4
1959	75.6
1958	72.8
1957	72.2
1956	71.7
1955	69.9
1954	69.9
1953	66.8
1952	66.3
1951	62.4
1950	59.2
1949	59.8
1948	57.4
1947	54.1
1946	52.6
1945	50.9
1944	46.0
1943	43.9
1942	42.5
1941	46.2
1940	47.2
1939	45.3
1938	40.6
1937	41.1
1936	38.8
1935	37.3
1934	35.0
1933	33.7
1932	33.2
1931	35.2
1930	34.1

Source: The yearly Radcliffe College Report of the President.

A very interesting aspect of the composition of the student body is the proportion of public versus private high school graduates among those admitted to the college--a problem relevant to Harvard though not to Wisconsin. The "preppies" were the majority among freshmen in the early thirties--close to 60%. In 1968 they were still a very large group--but constituted only about 40% of those admitted. For relatively stable Harvard, this is a rather significant change (see Table 21).

Increase in the Duration of the Role of Student

The role of student is a temporary one, occupied for a relatively short period of time. It appears, though, that in the period under study here the duration of the role has been increasing, so that for a substantial part of the student population it now lasts longer than the traditional four years. Kenneth Keniston has called attention to the fact that the nature of post-industrial society in the United States--demand for highly trained personnel, increasing status and prestige of jobs requiring graduate education--results in increasing numbers of young men and women who prolong their education into their middle and late twenties: "What industrial society did for the years between twelve and eighteen, post-industrial society is beginning to do for the years between eighteen and twenty-six." For the most talented and privileged, deferred entry into the economic system because of continuing higher

TABLE 21.--Harvard--percentage of candidates admitted and admitted-registered by kind of high school, 1930-1969.

Year	Admitted		Admitted-Registered	
	Private	Public	Private	Public
1969	39.7	60.3		
1968	40.2	59.8	44.5	55.5
1967	40.1	59.9	40.5	59.5
1966			41.3	58.7
1965			42.3	57.7
1964			42.7	57.3
1963			43.0	57.0
1962			44.0	56.0
1961			44.0	56.0
1960			43.8	56.2
1959			44.8	55.2
1958			46.1	53.9
1957			49.9	50.1
1956			48.5	51.5
1955			47.4	52.6
1954	41.0	59.0	46.1	53.9
1953	41.6	58.4	46.7	53.3
1952	45.4	54.6	52.1	47.9
1951	43.3	56.7		
1950	46.2	53.8		
1949	44.5	55.5		
1948	44.2	55.8		
1947	51.0	49.0		
1946	52.2	47.8		
1945	57.1	42.9		
1944	57.2	42.8		
1943	57.6	42.4		
1942	43.2	56.8		
1941	50.9	49.1		
1940	57.3	42.7		
1939	53.9	46.1		
1938	53.3	46.7		
1937	56.4	43.6		
1936	48.7	51.3		
1935	54.8	45.2		
1934	57.7	42.3		
1933	61.1	38.9		
1932	59.2	40.8		
1931	54.9	45.1		
1930	56.1	43.9		

Source: The yearly Harvard Report of the President.

education is not only possible, but highly desirable. Thus there is a new stage of life, the "stage of youth"--that "emergent stage of life that intervenes between adolescence and adulthood" (Keniston, 1968, pp. 264-265).

Riesman and Jencks also point to an extension of adolescence for the many students that remain in the university for longer periods of time than before (Jencks & Riesman, 1969, p. 47). They also note that while graduate enrollments changed little for some decades, during the late fifties and since then the rise has been fast and constant (Jencks & Riesman, 1969, p. 22).

Nationally, graduate student enrollment has increased from a little less than 50,000 in 1929-30 to more than 800,000 in 1968; the 1929-30 figure constituted 4.3% of the total student population at the time, while the 1968 figure comprised 11.1% of the total student population (see Tables 10 and 22).

At both Harvard and Wisconsin the graduate enrollment increased rapidly--more so than the undergraduate population (see Tables 16 and 17). However, if one wants to learn about the pattern of lengthening of the role of student at the two schools, he cannot rely on the numerical or proportional increases in their graduate populations, since both attract a great number of graduate students from other schools or geographic areas, and thus such numerical increases may simply reflect an increase in the popularity of their graduate programs. What is needed are

TABLE 22.--United States graduate enrollment as a percent of total enrollment, by sex and control of institution, 1929-1968.

Year	All Students	Men	Women	Public	Private
1929-30	4.3%	4.7%	3.8%	3.8%	4.8%
1939-40	7.1	7.5	6.4	5.6	8.8
1947-48	6.7	6.5	7.0	5.6	7.8
1949-50	8.9	9.3	8.1	8.0	9.9
1951-52	10.1	11.3	7.8	9.2	11.1
1953	9.5	10.9	7.1	8.0	11.3
1955	8.8	9.6	7.4	7.6	10.4
1957	8.9	9.7	7.2	7.6	10.6
1959	9.9	11.1	7.8	8.8	11.6
1961	10.0	11.5	7.6	9.1	11.6
1963	10.6	12.0	8.3	9.7	12.2
Year			Estimates		
1964	10.4	12.0	8.0	9.6	12.0
1965	10.5	12.1	8.0	9.7	12.1
1966	10.5	12.2	8.0	9.6	12.3
1967	10.8	11.9	9.2	10.0	12.4
1968	11.1	11.8	10.0	10.4	12.8

Note:
For 1929-30 and 1939-40, graduate enrollment is calculated as a percent of the regular academic year resident degree-credit enrollment in the 48 states and D.C.; for 1947-48 through 1951-52, as a percent of the regular academic year resident degree-credit enrollment in the present 50 states and D.C.; for 1953 and later, as a percent of fall or first-term resident and extension degree-credit enrollment in the present 50 states and D.C.

Source: American Council on Education, A Fact Book on Higher Education.

data indicating that growing proportions of Harvard's and Wisconsin's own students go on to graduate school, or plan to do so.

Fortunately, there are figures on this subject from both schools. At Harvard, the Office of Graduate and Career Plans has been conducting surveys of the senior class for more than ten years. Beginning with 1957, the Office found a constant increase in the proportion of seniors planning to continue graduate education immediately after graduation; the rise stopped in 1967-68, when a change in the draft laws changed the plans of many students (see the yearly The Harvard College Class of 19..: Its Plans for the Future). In 1957, 54% of the seniors planned immediate continuation to graduate school, while in 1966 the figure was 73.5%, and in 1967, it was 68.5%. As for those planning eventual graduate study, their proportion rose from 67% in 1958 to 93% in 1967, dropping to 88% in 1969. In other words, by the end of the sixties, almost all graduates of Harvard College planned on graduate study at some time in their lives; the draft law's changes altered the plans for immediate continuation of some 20% of the graduates, but it caused a change of only 5% in the number of those eventually planning to go to graduate school (see Table 23).

The increase in students planning graduate study was even more noticeable at Radcliffe--while 18% attended

TABLE 23.--Immediate plans of seniors at Harvard,[a] 1957-1969. (Percentages)

Plans	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960	1959	1958	1957
Graduate Study	46.5	47.4	68.5	73.5	71.3	66.6	64.7	64.7	63.5	61.5	55.7	59.0	53.9
Employment	30.6	27.2	16.5	13.9	15.8	16.8	13.4	13.3	11.3	10.5	14.1	10.0	13.0
Military	10.1	17.5	8.8	7.4	7.8	9.0	11.2	14.4	14.8	17.6	18.7	19.0	20.4
Travel	3.5	1.1	2.1	1.5	1.5	1.5	2.4	2.7	2.9	3.2	1.8	1.0	--
Indefinite	4.5	1.6	2.5	1.7	1.7	3.9	6.6	3.4	5.1	4.8	2.6	5.2	5.4
No Information	4.8	5.2	1.6	2.0	1.9	2.2	1.7	1.5	2.4	2.5	7.1	5.8	7.3
Eventual Graduate Study	87.9	88.0	93.0	91.0	85.0	84.0	82.0	83.0	82.0	82.0	64.0	67.0	--

[a]The data on the classes were obtained by the Harvard Office for Graduate and Career Plans from questionnaires distributed to each senior in April of each year. The rate of response is usually around 95 percent.

Source: Annual Reports of the Office of Graduate and Career Plans.

graduate school immediately after graduation in 1952, 45% did so in 1968 (see Table 24).

At Wisconsin data were available for the students of the College of Arts and Sciences only, for the years 1945-69. The figures for women students covered all the years under study, those for the male students, only part of the period. With respect to men, there was an increase of about 10% during the period of 1956-67 in the proportions of graduates enrolled in graduate schools, from 50-60% in the fifties to 60-70% in the sixties. The figures for the late forties cannot really be used for comparison, because they are the post-war years when many veterans took advantage of the GI Bill to continue their studies.

With respect to women, there was an increase of about 15% in the proportion of graduates pursuing further study: from 9% in 1957 to 25% in 1967 (see Table 25).

For Wisconsin no figures were available on eventual plans for graduate study. Nevertheless, even this big state university has more than half of its men graduates and one-third of its women graduates going on to graduate school immediately after graduation.

To summarize, graduate education appears to be the goal of an increasing part of the student population. Figures from the post-World War II period for Harvard and Wisconsin show that a majority of their men graduates attend or plan to attend graduate school immediately after graduation; the figures are equally impressive for the

TABLE 24.--Percentage of Radcliffe graduates going to graduate school, 1952-1968.

Class of:																
1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
18%	18%	30%	24%	24%	24%	28%	33%	34%	34%	41%	41%	45%	45%	50%	45%	45%

NOTE: Figures represent situation of graduates immediately after graduation, as gathered by three questionnaire mailings--June, September, and October after graduation. It should be borne in mind that in the first years the response rate was 70-75 percent; in the later years it was 90-95 percent. Also, there is no indication of plans for eventual graduate study.

Source: Class Reports of Career Planning Office, Radcliffe.

TABLE 25.--University of Wisconsin graduates, one year after graduation, Letters and Science only--1945-1969. (Percentages)

Year	% Respondents		Cont. Study		Work		Military		Unemployed	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1945		77.1		13.3		69.5				17.1
1946		83.1		18.5		64.7				16.7
1947	37.0	69.8	45.8	19.1	52.5	65.5			1.5	15.2
1948	61.0	63.2	59.9	16.6	37.6	69.9			2.4	13.4
1949	71.0	71.0	53.9	13.9	40.3	75.3			5.7	10.7
1950		74.3		15.4		71.8				12.7
1951	69.8	75.6	51.8	13.3	29.3	74.3	16.0		2.6	12.2
1952		90.6		16.5		72.7		0.9		9.7
1953		76.6		17.3		74.3				8.3
1954		79.9		15.1		74.2				10.6
1955		77.8		17.6		72.3				9.7
1956	69.3	--	59.0	--	23.0	--	17.0		10.0	--
1957	85.4	75.6	49.3	9.0	33.0	77.7	16.0		1.5	13.2
1958	79.8	78.7	53.4	9.2	30.9	81.1	9.9		5.7	9.6
1959	75.3	73.3	56.3	13.5	26.8	78.8	14.2		2.5	7.6
1960	72.8	62.6	57.2	13.6	31.0	77.0	10.2		1.3	9.3
1961	76.7	65.5	63.7	17.6	23.5	75.4	11.6		1.7	6.8
1962	78.5	68.8	62.1	20.6	24.4	71.7	11.3		2.1	7.6
1963	75.9	67.0	64.8	20.9	25.2	69.3	9.4		0.4	9.6
1964	76.2	61.6	65.2	24.1	25.3	68.7	8.0		1.2	7.1
1965	69.7	67.7	67.4	28.3	24.5	66.7	4.7		3.2	4.9
1966	78.6	70.0	65.5	27.8	22.4	67.5	10.9		1.0	4.6
1967	71.0	55.3	61.9	25.0	26.2	66.6	10.6		0.8	7.9
1968	70.5	69.5	50.8	25.4	31.9	65.4	14.4		2.7	9.1
1969	63.3	58.0	56.2	31.2	28.8	63.7	12.0		3.0	5.0

Source: Studies conducted by Miss Emily Chervenik, Director, University of Wisconsin Placement Office.

women graduates. For those individuals, the role of student is a long one--it may be occupied for almost a decade.

Increase in Perceived Necessity to Attend College

During the period under study a change occurred in the attitude of parents and high school students towards college attendance. Where college was previously a privilege of the talented or rich few, for whom college life was a prelude to an elite position and career, it has increasingly become a necessity for future life success and status. While forty years ago success in life could be achieved through many non-academic avenues, today such cases are very rare.

The relation between college attendance and success in life has received much attention from American social scientists. Probably the best known attempt to explore and establish that relationship was made by economists who studied how education relates to life income (see for reviews of the literature Blaug, 1970, as well as Bowman, 1966). Although the designs of these studies, the assumptions on which they are based, and their findings vary, they generally concur that an investment in education is worthwhile. Another school of social scientists studied the relation between education and occupation. Blau and Duncan's study of the American occupational structure is the most ambitious of these studies. One of their most important findings is that, "A man's social origins exert a

considerable influence on his chance of occupational success, but his own training and early experience exert a more pronounced influence on his success chances." They found that the zero-order correlations with occupational status are .32 for father's education, .40 for father's occupation, .60 for education, and .54 for first job (Blau & Duncan, 1967, p. 402).

The two schools of research establish, then, strong relationships between education and success in life, as measured by income and occupation. However, what is of interest here is how the population perceives the relation between education and success in life. Thus, it is more important to explore the spread of the notion that "the more you learn the more you earn" than to look at the results of the academic studies of the question.

Two indirect indicators of changes in the importance attached by the American population to higher education will be presented here. The first one is a change in the occupational structure. Where previously most jobs required at most a high school diploma, at present the single most important component of the occupational structure consists of jobs requiring some higher education. This change could hardly have escaped the attention of Americans. Martin Trow, an authority on educational developments in the United States, has said that,

> The causes for (the) rise in the expectations of ordinary people regarding the education of their children

> --essentially a change in the "educational standard of living" of the population--are numerous, but probably the most important factor is the growth in the numbers of trained and educated people needed in our "post-industrial" society (Trow, 1962, p. 236).

Between 1900 and 1930, when mass secondary education was developing, the fastest growing occupational category was "clerical and kindred workers." Between 1950 and 1970, when mass higher education was developing, the fastest growing categories were those of professional and technical workers (Trow, 1962, p. 236). From 1950 to 1966, the proportion of white collar occupations increased by 50%, while the total employment in the country rose by only half that amount. Within the white collar category, the professional, technical and kindred workers were the fastest growing group both numerically and proportionately--increasing from 4.5 million to 9.3 million, i.e., by 108%. The group constituted 13% of the total employed persons in 1966, compared to 8% in 1950 (National Science Foundation, NSF 68-30, p. 5) (see Table 26).

With respect to the professional, technical and kindred workers group, a study by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development points out, "There is virtually no entry into any of these groups except by the avenue not only of higher education but of complete higher education which, for many fields, includes a number of years of post-graduate professional education" (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1963,

TABLE 26.--United States employed persons fourteen years old and over, by major occupational group, 1950-1966.

Year	Total Employed	White-Collar Workers					Blue Collar Workers	Service Workers	Farm Workers
		Total	Professional, Technical, and Kindred	Managers[a]	Clerical and Kindred	Sales			
	Number in Millions								
1950	59.6	22.3	4.5	6.4	7.6	3.8	23.3	6.5	7.4
1951	60.9	22.4	4.8	6.2	7.7	3.8	25.0	6.5	6.9
1952	61.0	23.1	5.1	6.2	8.1	3.7	24.8	6.5	6.6
1953	61.8	23.6	5.4	6.4	8.0	3.8	25.0	6.9	6.2
1954	61.2	23.9	5.6	6.2	8.2	3.9	24.2	6.8	6.3
1955	63.0	24.6	5.8	6.4	8.4	4.0	24.7	7.1	6.6
1956	64.9	25.6	6.1	6.6	8.8	4.1	25.2	7.6	6.5
1957	65.0	26.5	6.5	6.7	9.2	4.1	24.9	7.6	6.1
1958	64.0	27.1	7.0	6.8	9.1	4.2	23.5	7.8	5.6
1959	65.6	27.8	7.1	6.9	9.3	4.4	24.2	8.0	5.6
1960	66.7	28.7	7.5	7.1	9.8	4.4	24.2	8.3	5.4
1961	66.8	29.1	7.7	7.1	9.9	4.4	23.9	8.6	5.1
1962	67.8	29.9	8.0	7.4	10.1	4.3	24.3	8.8	4.9
1963	68.8	30.2	8.3	7.3	10.3	4.4	25.0	9.0	4.6
1964	70.4	31.1	8.6	7.5	10.7	4.5	25.5	9.3	4.4
1965	72.2	32.1	8.9	7.3	11.2	4.7	26.5	9.3	4.3
1966	74.1	33.3	9.3	7.4	11.8	4.8	27.2	9.7	3.9
	Percent								
1950	100.0	37.5	7.5	10.8	12.8	6.4	39.1	11.0	12.5
1951	100.0	36.8	7.9	10.2	12.6	6.2	41.1	10.8	11.3
1952	100.0	37.7	8.3	10.1	13.3	6.0	40.7	10.7	10.9
1953	100.0	38.2	8.8	10.4	12.9	6.1	40.4	11.3	10.1
1954	100.0	39.0	9.1	10.1	13.4	6.4	39.5	11.1	10.4
1955	100.0	39.0	9.2	10.2	13.3	6.3	39.3	11.3	10.5
1956	100.0	39.4	9.4	10.1	13.6	6.3	38.8	11.7	10.1
1957	100.0	40.6	9.9	10.3	14.1	6.3	38.3	11.7	9.3
1958	100.0	42.3	10.9	10.6	14.3	6.5	36.7	12.2	8.7
1959	100.0	42.4	10.9	10.6	14.2	6.7	36.9	12.2	8.5
1960	100.0	43.1	11.2	10.6	14.7	6.6	36.3	12.5	8.1
1961	100.0	43.6	11.5	10.7	14.8	6.6	35.7	12.9	7.8
1962	100.0	44.1	11.9	10.9	14.9	6.4	35.8	13.0	7.2
1963	100.0	43.9	12.0	10.6	14.9	6.3	36.3	13.1	6.7
1964	100.0	44.2	12.2	10.6	15.2	6.3	36.3	13.2	6.3
1965	100.0	44.5	12.3	10.2	15.5	6.5	36.7	12.9	5.9
1966	100.0	45.0	12.6	10.0	16.0	6.4	36.7	13.1	5.2

[a]Managers, officials and proprietors, excluding farm.

Source: National Science Foundation, Employment of Scientists and Engineers in the United States, 1950-1966, NSF 68-30, p. 4.

p. 69). For the rest of the white-collar workers group, some higher education is the norm.

As a corollary to the above figures, it should be pointed out that up to the late sixties, studies of unemployment persistently showed a much higher degree of unemployment for those with less than a college education than for those who had some (see Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1963, p. 75 for some figures).

Thus the alternatives open to persons without some amount of higher education have become less attractive than in the past. Although this is not the only factor that has caused increasing desire on the part of both parents and youth to go to college, it is certainly a very important one.

Some interesting findings regarding changes in expectations and intentions of youth with respect to college education have been reported by Joseph Froomkin. Two similar studies, one conducted in 1959 and the other in 1965, found a rise in the expectations of high school seniors to go to college. The most interesting finding was that while the increase was small for students with a parental income of more than $7,500--only 3%--the change for students with a parental income of less than $3,000 was impressive--23%. The discrepancy stems from the fact that in 1959 a large number of the more well-to-do students already expected to go to college--68%--while only 23% of the

poorer students had similar expectations (see Froomkin, 1970).

These findings are especially interesting since, according to available evidence, no significant change in expectations of high students to go to college occurred until the late fifties and sixties. A. J. Jaffe and Walter Adams examined both published and unpublished opinion polls from 1939 to 1959 that included questions concerning parents' and high school students' plans and intentions regarding college. They found Roper and Gallup polls showing that in 1939, 54% of the students "planned to go to college or were interested in going there"; in 1959 the proportion was still only 56%. As for those actually planning to attend college immediately after graduation, the proportion rose from 40% in 1939 to 49% in 1959 (see Jaffe and Adams, 1964). The changes in the proportion of parents intending to, and planning to, send their children to college, were greater between the two years than the changes in proportions of students planning college study.

A note of caution is necessary here: the 1939 figures refer to "persons under twenty years of age," while those of 1959 refer to high school seniors. Thus, they do not refer to the same population, and it is thus difficult to assert with assurance the rate of change in high school students' intentions with respect to college education.

Whatever the rate of change up to the late fifties, it is clear that since then there has been a great increase in the proportion of high school students intending to go to college, and the increase has been especially impressive for lower class students. The same applies to the parents --almost all parents now aspire to a college education for their children, and, as with the children, the changes have been especially noticeable in the lower economic strata (see Froomkin, 1970 and Jaffe & Adams, 1964).

CHAPTER IV

CHANGES IN STUDENT EXPECTATIONS AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY

In this chapter the findings of the content analysis of the Wisconsin Daily Cardinal and the Harvard Crimson will be presented. Changes in the patterns of activity of students during the forty years under study will be examined first, followed by a discussion of changes in students' expectations with regard to the place of their role group within the decision making structure of their role set.*

In the following discussion the four decades will be compared, with special emphasis on the similarities and differences between the sixties and the thirties. The main rationale for such a structure is that each decade does constitute--this will become clearer with reading--a distinct period with respect to student political activity. More precisely, the main periods are: (1) the thirties, including 1940; (2) the late forties (there was almost no

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*A history of student political activity at the two schools is presented in Chapter V. Those who are unfamiliar with the subject may want to read the next chapter first.

activity in either school during the war); (3) the fifties; and (4) the sixties. The emphasis on a comparison between the thirties and sixties is due to the fact that student political activity was highest during these two periods and both decades are generally considered periods of a "student movement" in the United States. Thus, the comparison between the two is especially significant for testing the hypotheses of this study.

Generally speaking, the Cardinal and the Crimson provided very good sources of information for the study. Both are well known for their high journalistic standards, but more importantly, both were always independent papers run by students. This is important because, with some exceptions, both papers covered most student political activities throughout the decades, regardless of how those activities were regarded by the administration or the faculty. While neither paper was above participating in student internal political disputes, neither was told by non-students how to run its business.

Internal political disputes between students did affect coverage of events during some periods: thus, conservative editors of the Crimson during the early part of the thirties looked with scorn upon the activities of the left and peace organizations, and did not provide detailed accounts of many of their activities. During the late sixties, on the other hand, the editors of the Crimson emphasized the activities of SDS, while providing a lesser

coverage of more moderate groups.* The Cardinal, on the other hand, was traditionally more "radical" than the Crimson, and provided a more consistent coverage of the most active groups on campus.

Despite fluctuations (which would be found in every newspaper), both papers provided extensive coverage of the developments in student political activity throughout the years. This is corrobcrated by reading existing historical accounts of student political activity:** for the years in the sample, there was not a single conflict mentioned in other sources (which did not rely on the two papers) that was not found in the Cardinal or the Crimson.

This point is emphasized because the same things cannot be said about other student newspapers. The Michigan State News, student newspaper of Michigan State University, was used in the early stages of this study in order to test the content analysis procedure; during certain periods--especially the thirties--the coverage of controversial political issues was very poor.*** In many schools,

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*At least that is what a leader of a moderate group claims. See Kelman, 1970, Chapter 4.

**See, for the thirties, Wechsler, 1935; and Draper, 1967. For the fifties, Schiffrin, (n.d.); for the sixties, the best review is O'Brien, (n.d.). These are only selected sources; for a detailed bibliography of writings on student movements in the United States, see Altbach, 1968. For particular incidents, The New York Times is also useful.

***See Wechsler, 1935, p. 304, for an interesting account of one incident of suppression of information on a student political activity at Michigan State College in 1935.

editors of the student paper have had to submit copy to either a faculty advisor or a dean;* under such circumstances, coverage of political issues is jeopardized. Thus, although the Cardinal and the Crimson are not typical college student newspapers, they were good sources of information for the study here reported.

Changes in Patterns of Political Activity

Number of Conflicts

One-hundred and thirty-nine conflicts were identified at Wisconsin in the sampling of the years 1930-1969. It should be emphasized that this is not a correct historical figure, but one based upon a study of every other year. Of the 139 conflicts discussed here 32 (23%) took place in the thirties, 22 (15%) in the forties, 17 (12%) in the fifties, and 68 (49%) in the sixties (see Figure 2). The figure for the thirties includes 1940, since that year resembles the years of the thirties with regard to issues over which conflicts arose and the organizations that participated in the conflicts (for the rest of this study, for all purposes, 1940 will be considered part of the thirties).

Generally speaking, there were three peaks of activity during the forty-year period: one was during the thirties, with a consistent pattern of five to seven

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*For a review of freedom of expression of student newspaper editors during the early sixties, see Williamson & Cowan, 1966, pp. 125-134.

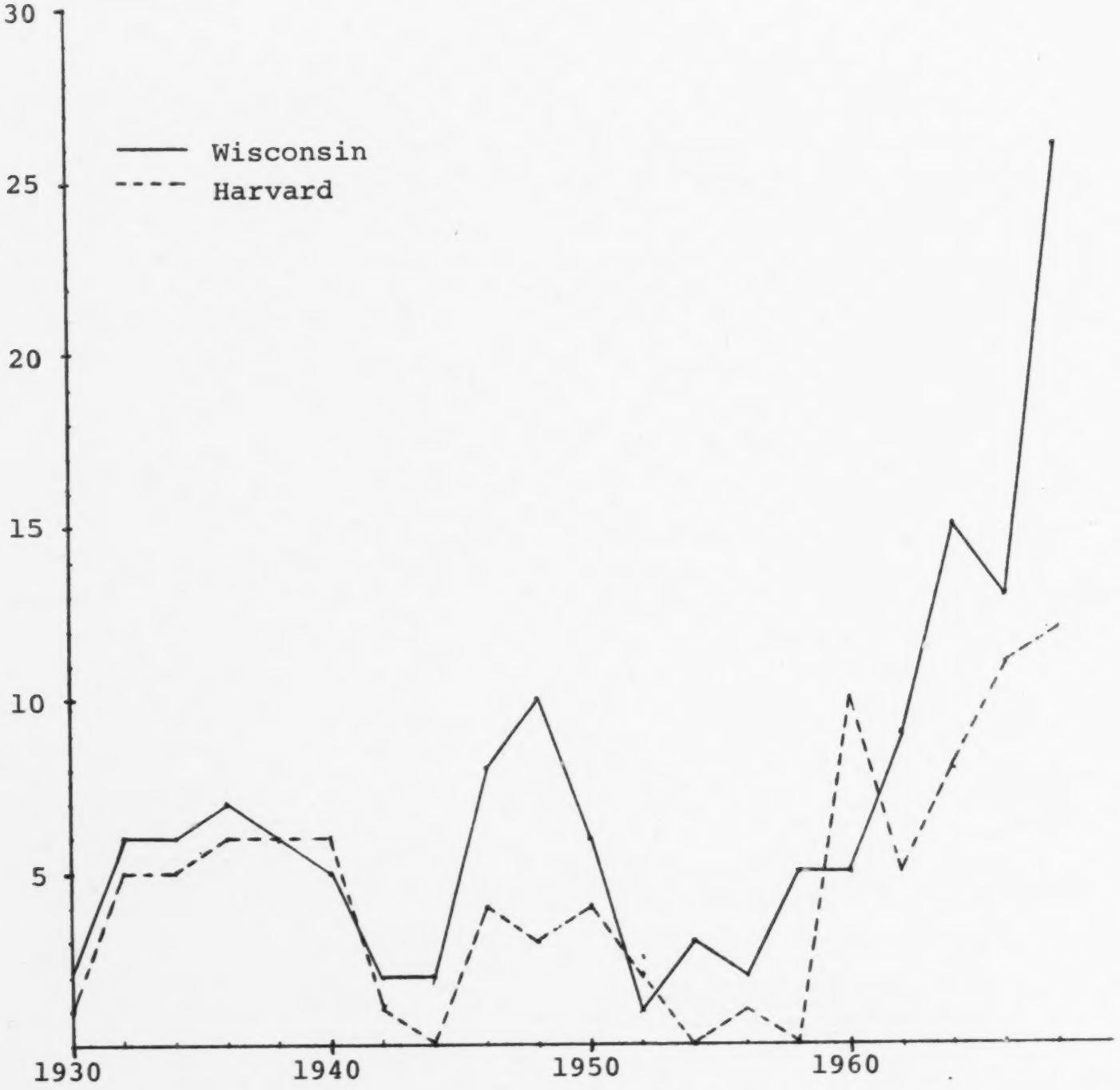

Figure 2. Number of conflicts recorded at Harvard and Wisconsin in the fall and spring periods of every second year from 1930 to 1969.

conflicts every year from 1932 to 1940. The second peak came during the late forties, the post-war period. The third peak came in the middle and late sixties. Each peak was higher than its predecessor; the peak of the thirties was the lowest of the three; that of the sixties, the highest. Of the three peaks, the only surprising one is that of the late forties, since that period is not usually thought of as a period of student activism.

There were also three periods in which student activism was very low; the first one was in 1930--there is no evidence as to the pattern before that. The second low came during the period of the Second World War, and the third occurred in the early and middle fifties.

At Harvard, only 90 conflicts took place in the same period, about two-thirds the Wisconsin figure. Of the 90 conflicts, 29 (32%) took place in the thirties, 8 (9%) in the forties, 7 (8%) in the fifties, and 46 (51%) in the sixties. At Harvard there were also three peaks of activity. The first one was in the thirties, with a consistent pattern of five to six conflicts every year from 1932 to 1940, almost identical to Wisconsin. The second peak occurred during the late forties and 1950, with three to four conflicts each year. This peak was significantly lower than the corresponding one at Wisconsin; furthermore, while at Wisconsin the peak of the late forties was higher than that of the thirties, at Harvard it was lower. The third and final peak came during the sixties. It began

abruptly in 1960, sagged the following year, and rose steadily from 1964 to 1968. Generally speaking, the pattern of Harvard in the sixties was similar to that at Wisconsin, with the difference lying in the total number of conflicts.

The low periods of activity at Harvard were much lower than the corresponding ones at Wisconsin: during the World War II years there was only one conflict, compared to four at Wisconsin; during the fifties there were seven conflicts, compared to seventeen at Wisconsin. While at Wisconsin at least one conflict was found in every one of the twenty years studied, at Harvard there were three years in which no conflict was found, and three more years with only one conflict each.

Thus, Harvard had fewer conflicts than Wisconsin, and her conflicts were clearly concentrated in two periods --the thirties and the sixties, compared to three periods of high activity at Wisconsin, and a spread of conflicts over all the years studied. In spite of these differences, the patterns of activity at Harvard and Wisconsin were similar.

Types of Issues in the Conflicts

The 139 conflicts recorded at Wisconsin arose over a variety of issues (see Table 27). Two broad types of issues stand out as the most frequent: those involving war and the military, and those involving racial or religious discrimination. War and military issues were involved in

TABLE 27.--Major types of issues involved in conflicts at Harvard and Wisconsin, by decades.

	1930's		1940's		1950's		1960's		Total	
	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H
1. Freedom of expression for student organizations and publications	1	-	1	1	2	2	4	-	8	3
2. Student participation in decision making	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	1	5	1
3. Aid to students on and off campus	1	1	-	-	-	-	6	2	7	3
4. Faculty issues	1	3	3	-	-	-	-	1	4	4
5. Dorm conditions, food, class facilities, physical plant of university	3	4	5	1	2	2	3	1	13	8
6. Student salaries, tuition, financial aid, legislative allocations	6	-	2	-	2	-	3	2	13	2
7. Aid to labor groups	-	3	1	2	1	1	5	4	7	10
8. Drives against legislative investigations of radicals	2	2	2	-	1	1	6	1	11	4
9. Racial and religious discrimination	4	4	5	2	5	-	8	6	22	12
10. Anti-war drives, foreign interventions, anti-ROTC drives	13	8	2	1	3	-	20	17	38	26
11. Miscellaneous	1	4	1	1	1	1	8	11	11	19

NOTE: 1940 is included in the 1930's.

38 conflicts during the forty-year period (27% of all conflicts); race relations figured in 22 conflicts (16%).

The single most frequent type of issue in both the thirties and the sixties concerned war or the military. However, in the thirties war-military issues were numerically more important than in the sixties (they constituted 41% of all conflicts in the thirties and 30% of all conflicts in the sixties). In the late forties and throughout the fifties only four war and military issues were found.

Within the broad category of war and military issues, three subgroups stand out for their frequency: ROTC-related conflicts--11 conflicts distributed almost evenly among the different decades; anti-war activities of the thirties--8 conflicts; and anti-Vietnam conflicts--12 conflicts. Other issues included in this category--draft resistance, intervention in Cuba and the Dominican Republic--were less frequent, and were concentrated mainly in the sixties.

The second largest group of issues concerned racial or religious discrimination. This issue came up throughout the forty-year period, with no significant concentration in any particular decade. It should be noted, though, that in the thirties the issue was not very salient. Besides protests against anti-Semitism in Germany, there were only two conflicts in the thirties over racial discrimination, while in both the forties and fifties there were five such conflicts, and in the sixties there were eight.

The next two most frequent types of issues of conflict were economic issues and school facilities (dorm conditions, food, class facilities, etc.). Economic issues were concentrated in the thirties (6 out of 13 such conflicts), while in the sixties they were not prominent at all. Conflicts involving school facilities were found throughout the decades, without any significant pattern. Some of the other types of issues appear to be concentrated mainly in the sixties--campaigns against legislative investigations of radicals on campus, including anti-HUAC campaigns; aid to labor groups; expressions of support for students at Wisconsin or other campuses who are harassed by authorities on and off campus, and issues involving specifically student participation in decision making.

A salient characteristic of the sixties was the variety of issues that were involved in conflicts. Though war and military issues comprised the single most frequent type, there were a significant number of conflicts over other types of issues. If the conflicts which arose over the most frequent types of issues--war and military, racial discrimination, school facilities, and economic issues--are summed for each decade, they constitute 81% of the conflicts in the thirties, 64% in the forties, 71% in the fifties, and only 53% in the sixties. There was a greater variety of issues in the sixties than in the decade to which it is most often compared--the thirties.

A final note on types of issues arising throughout the period under study: when all the conflicts are divided into two broad categories, on and off campus issues, i.e., issues involving internal university policies and decisions, and issues involving non-university matters, it can be seen that across the years there were as many on campus issues as off campus ones. However, the differences between decades are notable: in the thirties the distribution was about equal, in the fifties and forties the majority of the conflicts were related to internal university affairs, and in the sixties, the majority of the conflicts centered around off campus issues (see Table 28).

TABLE 28.--On and off campus issues involved in conflicts at Harvard and Wisconsin, by decades.[a]

	1930's		1940's		1950's		1960's		Total	
	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H
On Campus Issues	15	9	17	2	12	4	25	8	69	23
Off Campus Issues	17	20	5	6	5	3	43	38	70	67

[a]1940 is included in the 1930's.

At Harvard the most frequent issues involved in conflicts were, as at Wisconsin, war and military issues, and racial and religious discrimination issues. War and military issues accounted for 26 conflicts (29% of all

conflicts), and discrimination issues figured in 12 conflicts (13%) (see Table 27).

As at Wisconsin, war and military issues were most prominent in the thirties and the sixties. However, at Harvard these issues were relatively more prominent in the sixties than in the thirties (37% and 28%, respectively, of the conflicts in each decade).

Discrimination issues followed the same pattern at Harvard as at Wisconsin: in the thirties they were directed against anti-Semitism in Germany as much as against racial discrimination at home; it was only in the sixties that issues relating to blacks became salient.

A very telling difference is found between the two universities with regard to the third largest group of issues: at Wisconsin it was economic issues. At Harvard, on the other hand, there were only two conflicts centered around economic issues throughout the forty years. The third largest group of issues at Harvard was aid to labor--manifested mainly by support to local labor groups on strike--and distributed rather proportionately among the decades. The fourth largest group of issues, was, as at Wisconsin, those related to school facilities.

During the sixties Harvard, like Wisconsin, saw a greater variety of issues than in any previous decade, although the difference between the sixties and the thirties at Harvard was rather slight--during the thirties the four

most frequent types of issues accounted for 66% of the conflicts, in the sixties--61%.

Finally, a great contrast is found when one looks at on campus and off campus issues. At Harvard the majority of conflicts (74%) throughout the forty-year period arose over off campus issues. The preponderance of off campus issues was most pronounced in the sixties--83% of all conflicts. On campus issues constituted a majority only during the fifties--four out of seven conflicts (see Table 28).

To summarize the data on types of issues involved in conflicts, the major types of issues in both schools were similar, with the exception of economic issues, which at Wisconsin were important, particularly during the thirties, but at Harvard were insignificant. At the latter their place was taken by aid to labor issues. The most prominent issues in both schools revolved around the war, the military, and racial and religious discrimination. In both schools there was a greater variety of issues during the sixties, but this was much more prominent at Wisconsin than at Harvard. The major contrast between the two schools was in the distribution of on and off campus issues: at Wisconsin the total number of conflicts was equally distributed between the two, but off campus issues constituted a majority in the sixties; at Harvard, off campus issues provided the majority of the total number of conflicts as well as the majority within all but one of the four decades.

Initiating Groups

The information gathered for each conflict included the student group or groups which initiated the action, i.e., which student group started or first entered the conflict. The difference between "initiator" and "ally" should be noted: the first are those groups from which the initiative for the action came; the second includes those groups that later joined in the action or expressed support for the initiator. This section deals only with the initiator (see Table 29).

At Wisconsin the groups that were involved in the initiation of the most conflicts throughout the years were the left and peace organizations; they were among the initiators of 47 out of the 139 conflicts (34%). The second most frequent initiator was the student government, which initiated 29 conflicts (21%). The third was the Daily Cardinal, initiating 25 conflicts (18%). Dormitory associations, class organizations and departmental organizations started 15 conflicts.

Looking at the various groups across the decades, one sees some interesting differences: the left and peace organizations started 22 conflicts in the thirties, and 26 in the sixties; however, in the thirties that meant 69% of all conflicts, while in the sixties it was only 38%. Thus, while one hears all the time about Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and other New Left organizations, student activity in the sixties was not confined to them alone. In

TABLE 29.--Student groups[a] at Harvard and Wisconsin that initiated at least five conflicts, by decades.[b]

	1930's		1940's		1950's		1960's	
	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H
1. The student newspaper	7	5	6	1	6	3	6	2
2. The student government	6	1	10	4	7	3	5	5
3. Dorm, class, departmental organizations	6	3	3	-	2	2	6	5
4. University religious groups	6	3	-	-	-	-	1	-
5. Black and civil rights organizations[c]	1	-	3	-	1	1	8	4
6. Left and peace organizations[d]	22	19	5	1	2	1	26	27
7. Partisan organizations[e]	-	-	2	-	1	1	6	2
8. Ad hoc student organizations	1	5	4	1	1	2	10	4
Total number of conflicts in the decade	32	29	22	8	17	7	68	46

[a]The table includes only those student organizations that were involved in the initiation of the conflicts recorded. It does not include all student organizations that existed on campus throughout the forty-year period.

[b]The year 1940 is included in the 1930's.

[c]At Wisconsin, includes the Negro Culture Foundation, Concerned Black Students, Black People's Alliance, FSNCC, Student Council on Civil Rights. At Harvard, includes SNCC, Society for Minority Rights, Association of Afro-American Students.

[d]In the thirties, for both schools, includes the Student League for Industrial Democracy, National Student League, American Student Union. At Wisconsin, includes also Young Communist League, Progressive Club, University League for Liberal Action, Youth Committee Against the War, Anti-War Committee, Peace Federation. At Harvard, includes also Harvard Peace Society, Harvard Liberal Club, Harvard Socialist League, Committee Against Military Intervention.

In the forties, for both schools, includes the Progressive Club. At Wisconsin, includes also American Youth for Democracy, Socialist Club.

In the fifties, at Wisconsin, includes Progressive Club, Student Peace Center; at Harvard, includes Student League for Industrial Democracy and SANE.

In the sixties, for both schools, includes Young Socialist Alliance, Students for a Democratic Society, Student Mobilization Committee, Student Peace Center. At Wisconsin, includes also Socialist Club, W.E.B. DuBois Club, Committee for Direct Action, Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union, Madison Resistance, Committee to End the War in Vietnam, Students for Peace and Disarmament. At Harvard, includes also Young Peoples Socialist League, May 2nd Movement, Tocsin.

[e]Includes the Young Republicans, the Young Democrats, and Students for Democratic Action.

the thirties, however, the "student movement" can be attributed almost entirely to the left. Had there been no left, the thirties might have been very similar to the forties and fifties.*

The student government was in the center of affairs in the forties and fifties. In each of these decades, the student government was the most frequent initiator of conflicts. In the thirties and sixties, the student government initiated only a minority of conflicts.

The Daily Cardinal was most active in the thirties, forties, and fifties; in these decades it was the second most frequent initiator.

Religious groups were quite active in the thirties, but have not been very active since that time, judging from the number of conflicts they initiated or helped initiate.

The partisan organizations were among the initiators of nine conflicts; two in the forties (late forties), one in the fifties, and six in the sixties, most of them in the early sixties. The most active organization was the Young Democrats.

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*It could be said, of course, that members of leftist groups activate other student organizations; there was no way to check that systematically, although some examples of participation of members of leftist groups in other campus organizations could be found in the newspaper. The point is that when the proportion of conflicts initiated by the left in the thirties (for that period, of course, the same claim could be made regarding the influence of leftist students) is compared with the corresponding figure for the sixties, the relative predominance of those groups is quite clear.

Finally, it is interesting to note that ad hoc organizations were among the initiators of ten conflicts in the sixties--the second most frequent initiator of this decade. Five other conflicts initiated by ad hoc groups are distributed among the other three decades. This is a good indication of the general mood of activism in the sixties, as compared to that of other periods.

The four most prominent groups in terms of initiation of conflicts at Harvard were the same as those at Wisconsin: the left and peace organizations (participated in the initiation of 53% of the 90 conflicts); the student government (14%), the student paper (12%), and resident and departmental organizations (11%). To that should be added ad hoc organizations, which participated in the initiation of 13% of all conflicts.

Compared to Wisconsin, the role of the left and peace organization at Harvard was more prominent: they participated in the initiation of 66% of the conflicts in the thirties (69% at Wisconsin), and 59% of those in the sixties (38% at Wisconsin). Thus, student activity at Harvard during both the thirties and the sixties was initiated to a large extent by these organizations, while in Wisconsin their role was relatively more prominent in the thirties than in the sixties.

As for the rest of the groups, their activity at Harvard was very similar to that at Wisconsin: the student government was especially active in the forties and

fifties; the Crimson in the thirties and fifties. Religious groups were active only during the thirties. Partisan organizations--essentially the Students for Democratic Action and the Young Democrats--figured rather weakly in the late fifties and early sixties.

Thus, with the exception of the relative prominence of the left and peace organizations during the sixties at Harvard, the pattern of participation of student groups in the initiation of conflicts in both schools was essentially the same.

Means

All the means employed in a particular conflict were recorded. The means most frequently used could be grouped into three major categories: representational means, petitions, and mass tactics.

Representational means include mainly the action of elected representatives of the student body, or of student organizations. They include resolutions by any of these bodies; representatives sent to the faculty, administration, or a public official; and delegations to off campus events. At Wisconsin, representational means were used most frequently in the fifties, in 76% of all conflicts. They were used the least in the sixties, in 44% of all conflicts. In the thirties and forties the proportion of conflicts in which representational means were used was about the same: 59% and 52%, respectively.

Petitions include, in addition to petitions, letters directed to public and university officials. Again, as with representational means, the fifties saw the highest frequency of use of this means--in 71% of all the conflicts at Wisconsin. In the thirties, petitions were used in 56% of all conflicts, while in the forties and sixties, the proportions were 33 and 34%, respectively.

Mass tactics include all means that involve the participation of large numbers of people: demonstrations, mass meetings, occupation of buildings, sit-ins. At Wisconsin mass means were used most frequently in the sixties: in 54% of all conflicts. For that decade they were the single most frequently used means. In the thirties, mass tactics were utilized in 37% of all conflicts. In the forties, such means were used only in 15% of the conflicts, and in the fifties, no use of mass means was recorded.

Generally speaking, then, the thirties, forties and fifties saw conflicts where the most frequently used means were representational means and petitions. These were the only means used during conflicts in the fifties. In the sixties, while all means were used in significant numbers, the single most frequent ones were mass tactics.

At Harvard the pattern of use of means in conflicts was similar to that at Wisconsin, with one exception: at Harvard mass means were the most frequent type of means used in both the thirties and the sixties (48% and 63% of all conflicts in each decade, respectively). The frequency

of their use was higher, though, in the sixties. Representational means and petitions were used most frequently in the forties and fifties, as they were at Wisconsin.

Changes in Attitudes

Following are some of the findings concerning changing student perceptions of their role as students in the university and outside of it. It should be pointed out here that these attitudes are not found in abundance throughout the years. There are several reasons for the scarcity of attitudinal statements: first, the newspaper as such reports action more than attitudes. It reports what each group did, or planned to do, more than what members of each group involved in the conflict said. Secondly, what members of each group said--for example, what student leaders involved in the conflict said--will more often refer to the substantive issue at hand than to the general consideration of their role as students. The frequency of appearance of the attitudes studied here is thus relatively low; but the trends of their appearance are clear, nevertheless. Furthermore, the trends in the attitudinal variables are corroborated by the trends in the other variables recorded for the conflicts studied: number of conflicts, types of issues, initiating groups, and means employed by the students.

The attitudes here reported are grouped into four dimensions: (1) desire for freedom from control by other

groups, (2) demand for greater decision making rights, (3) rejection of the image of students as immature citizens on the way, and (4) the presence of "class consciousness" on the part of students.

Freedom from Control

The dimension of freedom from control was measured by assertions questioning (a) the right of other groups to make the given decision involved in the conflict, and (b) the right of those groups to make decisions affecting students in general. Examples of the first type of assertion include: " . . . that is a decision that they [SLIC] have no right to make"; " . . . how dare they dictate what we shall or shall not hear or read?"; " . . . but the University does not have any right to forbid a student from living where, and with whom, and among whom, he wants to." Examples of the second type of assertion include: " . . . we reject the implication that such direction and control [by the university] applies to spheres of activity outside the academic world"; or "The question is, should we always have to depend on their good graces when they are not even a legitimate representative of our wishes?"

The first type of assertion, questioning the right of other members of the role set to make the specific decision under dispute, was found at Wisconsin in eight conflicts throughout the period under study. Out of the eight conflicts, six took place in the sixties, one in the

thirties, and one in the fifties. The second type of assertion, questioning the right of other members of the role set to make decisions concerning students in general, was found in only one conflict, in 1966, when the Wisconsin Student Association passed a bill giving it all the powers to regulate students' social and group life, while taking those powers away from the faculty and administration.

Throughout the years, most of the groups whose rights were questioned were within the university, or more specifically, the faculty, the administration, or the regents. Most of the questioning of the rights of others to make decisions affecting students was done in the sixties.

At Harvard, both types of assertions were found only during the sixties. During three different conflicts students questioned the right of other role groups to make specific decisions. In two conflicts, students questioned the rights of others to make decisions concerning students in general. In all the conflicts, the rights questioned were those of the university administration to make decisions for students.

Numerically speaking, then, student questioning of the rights of other role groups within the role set to make decisions affecting them was more frequent at Wisconsin than at Harvard. In both schools, however, the questioning occurred only in the second half of the sixties.

Decision Making Rights of Students

The dimension of students' rights to participate in decision making involves two main types of assertions. The first type of assertion refers to the rights of students to make decisions in the specific area under dispute, for example, housing regulations or women's hours. The second type of assertion refers to the right of students to participate in decision making in general, not just in the area involved in the conflict. Each of the two types of assertions was scaled. Students were seen as asserting their right to (a) be consulted (including such expressions as "have a voice," or "be heard," "have something to say," "right to question"); (b) be represented (including such expressions as "participate," "help formulate," "share authority,"); and (c) make the decision themselves.

Examples of the first type of assertion, referring to a specific decision involved in a conflict, are: " . . . we have a right to question the decision"; or "students should not determine curriculum, but their views on curriculum should be heard"; "what we want now is participation for teaching assistants . . . in a shared decision making process"; "who should tell you what level of work you . . . can do . . . ? Who . . . but yourself?"

Examples of the second type of assertion, referring to decision making rights of students in general and not only in the area involved in the specific conflict are: " . . . the real question seems to be: do the students

have a voice in deciding how university affairs are run?" or "Does it not follow that in a democratic country we should have at least in part 'government of the students, by the students, for the students'?" " . . . Students should govern themselves and regulate their lives and interests."

At Wisconsin students' assertions that they had the right to a role in decision making were found mostly in the sixties; more than 60% of the assertions regarding specific decisions were found in this decade. Demands for participation in decision making in general areas of student concern, not just in the ones directly involved in the conflict, came only in the sixties. Furthermore, looking at the degree of decision making power demanded, it was found that in the previous decades the assertions concerned mostly consultatory and representational rights, while in the sixties there were demands for representational and for exclusive student decision making rights--in areas under conflict as well as in other areas. It should also be noted that in the sixties the areas in which students asserted their rights to decision making went beyond the limits of the campus to include local as well as national issues.

In short, at Wisconsin, the sixties witnessed not only a higher frequency of assertions of students' rights to decision making power, but also a demand for a higher degree of participation, as well as a wider scope of

decision making--not only in the university, but outside of it as well.

The pattern was largely the same at Harvard, except for the fact that assertions of decision making rights were found in fewer conflicts than at Wisconsin. Assertions regarding student decision making rights in specific issues under dispute were made during eight conflicts (compared to twenty-one at Wisconsin). Of the eight, five took place during the sixties, and the rest were scattered through the years. However, the assertions prior to the sixties involved demands for consultatory rights, while those made during the sixties involved representation or exclusive power to make certain decisions.

Assertions regarding students' decision making rights in general were found only in the sixties (in three conflicts compared to nine at Wisconsin). In all three, the demands were for student representation on the decision making bodies.

Maturity-Adulthood

This dimension measures the acceptance or rejection by students of their image as potential rather than full citizens, not yet responsible and capable of making their decisions. Examples of expressions which belong here are: " . . . it is the cry of students who believe they are mature enough to accept the freedom . . . and the responsibility of regulating their own lives"; " . . . if students

are old enough to be sent to Laos and fight for American ideals they are discriminating enough not to be swayed by the raving of an extremist"; " . . . university students have the ability to discern fallacious propaganda."

At Wisconsin assertions to the effect that students are mature, responsible and able to make decisions appeared mostly in the sixties--ten out of the twelve conflicts where these attitudes were expressed took place in the sixties. The assertions appeared in issues of direct concern to students within the university, such as housing and women's hours, but also in conflicts where the students acted in areas not traditionally seen as their concern. In such cases students defended their right to speak or act on the basis of their maturity.

A related area, the concept of in loco parentis, although overlapping with the above attitudes, was recorded separately when it was mentioned specifically. Expressions concerning the concept of in loco parentis that were found were all negative; i.e., the concept was rejected, and such attitudes appeared only in the sixties. It is interesting to note here that at Wisconsin the actual breakdown of the in loco parentis concept came in the fifties, when students demanded changes in hours and other regulations. Many of these demands were met with positive response from the administration and the faculty, and thus do not appear here since they never developed into conflicts. Liberalization was slow, to be sure, but steady. It appears that the

period of the Free Speech Movement and the increase in student activity in the sixties brought with it a reactionary move within the administration in the area of *in loco parentis* policies--retraction of certain liberalizations, or, in any case, opposition to new ones. Therefore, while many regulations were lifted in the fifties without conflict (this applies, it should be remembered, to the years studied, i.e., every second year, and cannot be taken as a definitive historical assessment), and thus without the opportunity to express the type of attitudes studied here, the expressions that are found come later on historically, i.e., years after the concept of *in loco parentis* had begun to erode.

At Harvard there were few and scattered expressions concerning the image of students as immature or irresponsible. Moreover, there was not one assertion regarding the concept of *in loco parentis*. The contrast between Wisconsin and Harvard on this dimension is a very important one, and it will be discussed later in the chapter.

Class Consciousness

This dimension includes statements asserting that students have common problems, interests, and enemies, as well as statements asserting that students are a powerful or relatively powerful group that can change or influence policies. Examples are: " . . . this is a problem that belongs to every student in the University"; " . . . it is

we who receive the benefits of education, and it is we who lose if there are flaws in the educational process"; " . . . we can't make our country's policies, but we can make our voices heard"; " . . . in union there is strength."

At Wisconsin expressions of class consciousness appeared in two periods of high activism--the thirties and the sixties--but not in the forties. In the thirties, the most frequent assertion appearing was that students were a group with potential power to influence decisions, while assertions of common problems were less frequent. In the sixties, assertions that students had common problems were as frequent as assertions that they comprised a powerful group.

In general, it should be noted that while in the thirties class consciousness expressions appeared mostly in off campus issues, in the sixties they appeared mostly in on campus issues; this may be related, of course, to the questioning of the distribution of decision making power which took place in the sixties, and which was most prominent in the on campus issues. As for the absence of assertions of class consciousness in the period of the late forties, the explanation may lie in the nature of the conflicts of that period--they were mostly fought by the student establishment, without mass involvement, and without questioning present relationships between students and other groups. Furthermore, a large proportion of

students were veterans, many with families, and they identified as veterans rather than as students.

At Harvard, expressions concerning group consciousness were found only in the sixties--none appeared before that time. On three occasions, the assertions involved the power of students to accomplish their goals, and on one occasion, students asserted that they had common interests. These assertions of class consciousness were made in connection with both on and off campus issues.

As on the other attitudinal dimensions, here too there was a numerical difference between Harvard and Wisconsin: the community of problems between students was asserted in nine conflicts in Wisconsin, compared to one at Harvard; the power potential of students was asserted in fourteen conflicts in Wisconsin, compared to three at Harvard.

Summary

Looking back at the findings presented in this chapter, one point stands out: the patterns of changes in student attitudes and political activity at Harvard and Wisconsin are very similar. There are differences, but these are relatively few and do not affect the major trends. Thus, there were similar concentrations of conflicts in the thirties and the sixties, with similar periods of low activity in the early forties and the fifties. The late forties brought increased activity to both schools, though

TABLE 30.--Number of conflicts at Wisconsin and Harvard in which expressed attitudes were found--by decade.

	1930's		1940's		1950's		1960's		Total	
	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W	H
Questioning of other groups' authority --specific issue	1	-	-	-	1	-	6	3	8	3
Questioning of other groups' authority --in general	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	2
Assertion of students' right to power--specific issue	4	1	4	2	-	-	13	5	21	8
Assertion of students' right to power--in general	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	3	9	3
Rejection of students' traditional image as:										
Irresponsible	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	2	3	3
Immature	1	2	1	-	-	1	6	-	8	3
Unable to make decisions	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1
Rejection of *in loco parentis*	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	4	-
Assertion of commonality of problems	2	-	-	-	1	-	6	1	9	1
Assertion of power potential	5	-	-	-	1	-	8	3	14	3

this was much more pronounced at Wisconsin. The types of issues important in the four decades were largely the same, with the exception of economic issues, which were not important at Harvard at any time. The patterns of initiation of conflicts by the various student organizations throughout the four decades were very similar, though the role of the left and peace organizations was relatively more important at Harvard during both the thirties and sixties, while at Wisconsin it was especially prominent in the thirties. A major contrast was found with regards to the differentiation between on and off campus issues--at Harvard off campus issues were the most prominent during both the thirties and the sixties, while at Wisconsin these constituted a majority of conflicts only in the sixties. As far as means are concerned, in both schools there was a strong shift towards the use of mass means in the sixties, as compared to the previous decades.

With respect to attitudes expressed during the conflicts, though there were fewer attitudes found at Harvard, the patterns of expression are the same in both schools--questioning of other role groups' authority over students, as well as demands for more student power, were found mainly in the sixties at both schools. Rejection of the traditional image of students as immature and irresponsible was also found mainly in the sixties--although very few such expressions were recorded at Harvard. Finally, expressions of class consciousness were found in both periods of high

activity, though in the sixties there was a greater emphasis on common problems than in the thirties. In general, there were more expressions of "class consciousness" at Wisconsin than at Harvard. The similarities between the two schools on the above statistical measures are reinforced by the historical sketches of the four decades presented in the next chapter.

Thus, the findings of this chapter are parallel to those of Chapter III; both chapters traced trends in two universities which were also found on the national level. In Chapter III the similarities between the national trends and the school trends were more readily visible, since statistics for both levels were presented. This chapter presents trends only for the individual schools, yet these trends are very similar, and the similarities can be best explained by concluding that changes in political activity and attitudes of students at the two schools were part of a national pattern of change. As was noted for the structural changes reviewed in Chapter III, so it must be noted here that the word "national" does not refer to all the universities in the nation: just as a relatively small number of schools receive most of the federal money for research and development, so some schools saw more student activity than others. But the national character of the changes in student political activity is important to emphasize, because some scholars have attempted to explain the student movement of the sixties through reference to

structural differences between American universities, such as the differences between private, ivy league schools (such as Harvard) and big, public state universities (such as Wisconsin) (see, for one example, Lipset & Altbach, 1967).

While most of the trends described in this chapter were similar at the two schools, some differences were noted above. The one difference between Harvard and Wisconsin which I think explains most of the discrepancies in the above trends has to do with the image of Harvard as well as with the nature of its student body. As mentioned earlier, Harvard has been and still is a school for the rich and capable few (although the order of the two may have been reversing since World War II). The majority of Harvard students are sons of the country's elite; the majority of the students, by virtue of ascriptive status as well as by virtue of their being students at what is considered the top school in the country, will step into their fathers' social positions. The students are well aware of their privileged situation, as becomes clear from a reading of every other year of the Crimson throughout the last forty years--and that has not changed much since the early thirties. The faculty and administration of Harvard are also aware of it: they know that they are dealing with the sons of the famous and the powerful, or those that will become famous and powerful (see, for an elaboration of this point, Meyerson, 1966, p. 274). As a

result, there has been less friction, less conflict, between students and administration and faculty at Harvard than at Wisconsin. The image of students as immature or irresponsible was not emphasized at Harvard, either by the students or by other groups. When the Harvard student government made studies of social or academic life at Harvard, those studies were respected by the administration--although not always acted upon. Thus, most conflicts at Harvard concerned off campus issues; and there were, up to the sixties, fewer demands for student participation in decision making, as well as a lesser questioning of the authority of the faculty and administration than at Wisconsin. That authority was simply not felt to be oppressive at Harvard. There was almost no questioning of the image of student as immature--or of the concept of in loco parentis--because those were not problems at Harvard. Finally, the sense of belonging to the privileged few probably accounts for the fewer expressions of class consciousness found at Harvard.

Left and peace organizations were relatively more prominent at Harvard than at Wisconsin because at Harvard there were fewer student-administration disputes than at Wisconsin--and in the off campus conflicts the most active groups were those of the left. While at Wisconsin these groups focused on campus issues during the thirties in order to gain acceptance by the majority of the students, at Harvard they had less ground for doing so.

Given the socio-economic status of Harvard students, they raised few economic issues, and none during the thirties, when such issues were most prominent at Wisconsin.

CHAPTER V

STUDENT ACTIVISM OVER FOUR DECADES --A HISTORICAL SKETCH

This chapter will draw together some of the findings regarding patterns of student political activity and perceptions of students as regards their role in the university and outside of it for each decade studied. It will also provide a historical perspective which will help in understanding the changes which have occurred in student political activity.

The Thirties

Much of the student political activity at Wisconsin in the thirties was devoted to anti-war efforts and economic issues. Other issues which made their appearance periodically during this decade arose in response to attacks on university radicals and "reds" on the part of conservative elements throughout the state, and most notably, in the state legislature, and attempts by the same body to reinstate compulsory military training (ROTC had been voluntary at the University of Wisconsin since 1923). The biggest such issue, a state senate investigation of "radical

and subversive" elements on campus in 1935, aroused united opposition from administration, faculty, and students; an all-university committee formed by student leaders to defend the university from the state senate included representatives from every major campus group. Other issues of the decade included racial discrimination in intercollegiate athletics and in the local community, persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany, school facilities, and a protest over the regents' firing of university president Glenn Frank, joined by over 1,000 students.

Anti-war activity took the form of Armistice Day demonstrations against participation in future wars (even before World War II was imminent), conferences against war, and annual anti-war strikes, beginning in the spring of 1934. These were generally national in scope and sponsored by student communist, socialist, and religious organizations. Anti-war activity was continuous throughout the fall of 1934: the high points were an anti-war demonstration in Chicago; a torchlight parade endorsed by many student organizations including the Inter-Church Council, the Cardinal, the Interfraternity Council, the Young Democrats, the Young Republicans--and also the president of the university; and a peace conference to which representatives from all campus organizations were invited. The anti-war strike of April, 1935, was attended by 830 students, who, along with other demands, denounced the idea of compulsory ROTC at Wisconsin. Efforts

on the part of the university administration to take the "radicalism" out of the strikes by declaring solidarity with the students and offering sponsorship of "peace convocations" instead of "anti-war strikes" made the fight against war (or for peace) a respectable, very American activity by the spring of 1937. The anti-war strike at the University of Wisconsin that year was marked by an absence of controversy, which its sponsors blamed for the small turnout of 500 students. Two years later, when a European war was imminent, an anti-war strike could no longer draw large audiences. While 2,000 students attended a "peace convocation" at which Harold Laski argued for collective security, less than 100 students attended the strike organized by the local chapter of the Youth Committee Against the War (YCAW).

At the last strike, in April of 1941, the peace movement at Wisconsin had lost most of its following: the peace convocations of previous years were replaced by a foreign policy debate sponsored by student government bodies and chaired by a member of the administration to avoid any possible embarrassment to the university, and the leftist groups could not manage to agree enough to hold an alternative demonstration on their own--instead two rival meetings were held on the same day.

The economic issues of the thirties included united efforts by students, faculty and administration to prevent the state legislature from cutting the university budget;

protests against food prices at the Wisconsin Memorial Union and the low wages of students employed by the Union; and an attempt to lower the compulsory Union fee of $10. In 1938 the University League for Liberal Action (a local organization affiliated with the American Student Union), joined by the Cardinal, student government bodies, the Interfraternity Council, and various dormitory associations set up a student wages and hours agreement which it campaigned to have local restaurants employing students sign. "White List" signs were displayed in the windows of local restaurants adhering to the agreement, and students were urged to boycott any restaurant not on the list. The campaign was very successful, and most of the local establishments accepted the code.

During the thirties "student power" issues were non-existent; such issues were not to arise until the sixties. Student government was an idea more or less imposed on the students from above, so that the administration of student affairs would be easier for faculty and administrators alike. There was no questioning of the relations between the students, on the one hand, and the faculty and administrators, on the other; disciplinary powers of the faculty were taken for granted, and the Cardinal apologized for discussing the question in an editorial (DC 5/14/31). It was the faculty that proposed student representation on their committees dealing with student interests (in 1936); it was the faculty that initiated curriculum changes and

had to campaign to get students' opinions on the issue (in spring, 1939).

It is important to note that student political activity was referred to at the time as a youth movement as often as a student movement (see, for one example, DC 12/16/34). It was not conceived as a movement of students, as such trying to play a part in national politics, but as young people--most of them in colleges--sharing in the efforts of their elders to improve the world, or, to change it. There was no rejection of adult solutions as such--only a preference for some adults' solutions over those of others.

Leftist organizations initiated or were among the initiators of twenty-two out of thirty-two conflicts recorded during the thirties. The student movement of the decade was largely due to the efforts of the National Student League (NSL), the Student League for Industrial Democracy (SLID), and the various other organizations which grew out of them, were formed by them, or were dominated by them.

Another important factor in those years was the various religious organizations on campus and in the local community. Besides being initiators of six conflicts during these years, religious leaders and organizations were usually readier than most other organized groups to publicly support the leftist activists and join them in their causes.

Other non-political student organizations--dormitory associations, class organizations, student governmental

units, etc.--were rather inactive as far as initiation of conflicts was concerned. Fraternities and other social organizations sometimes joined the action, but were rarely among the initiators.

As far as the administration of the university is concerned, during the first half of the decade it was rather tolerant and cooperative with the student activities. Above all, it defended the right of the radical groups to carry out their activities and came out strongly against attacks on academic freedom from outside the university. The administration cooperated with students in opposing reinstatement of compulsory ROTC and in protesting against budget cuts by the legislature; it endorsed the first anti-war activities, as well as the peace convocations of later years. Towards the end of the decade, the mood changed; in the spring of 1939, when students supporting a peace strike--not the officially-sanctioned peace convocation--distributed handbills on campus, the regents passed a resolution prohibiting such action.

The appointment of President Clarence Dykstra to the directorship of the draft in 1940 was accompanied by an increasingly anti-radical, patriotic mood. There was some resistance to the draft on the part of the YCAW and the University League for Liberal Action, but these activities did not get much coverage in the student newspaper. The Cardinal discussed the issue of radicalism at the University of Wisconsin under the heading, "The Myth of

Wisconsin Radicalism," and concluded that actually the campus had never been receptive to radical ideas and activties, or, as they put it, "In every bushel, only one bad apple" (DC 4/29/41). And in the winter of 1941, Dean Goodnight requested that all student organizations submit complete membership lists to the university. The Youth Committee Against the War could not find room in the university to hold its national convention (in spite of the fact that the university had hosted the American Student Union convention the year before).

At Harvard, as at Wisconsin, the big issue during the thirties was peace, or, rather anti-war activity. Economic issues, which at Wisconsin were important, did not exist at Harvard. The Depression began to be noticed at Harvard only in 1932, and did not constitute a basis for student political activity outside of theoretical discussions at meetings of political clubs.

Related to the war issue was anti-fascist activity. When a Hitler aide who was a Harvard alumnus was designated as Marshal for commencement exercises, or when a delegation of Italian students was officially received by the university without clarifying that this act did not signify approval of Mussolini's regime, left and liberal clubs protested strongly.

There were also protests against "fascism-from-within," mainly in the form of laws restricting civil

liberties. Students from Harvard traveled to Hartford, Connecticut, to protest a Connecticut State College ruling that students demonstrating against military training would be expelled. Harvard students also protested against a law requiring Massachusetts teachers to take an oath of loyalty, as well as against proposals to remove the Communist Party from the state ballot.

On several occasions, students protested the dismissal of faculty members--especially when the reason for dismissal was suspected to be the radical views of the faculty involved. The most celebrated such case was the dismissal of two popular economics instructors, Alan Sweezy and Raymond Walsh, who were active in the Teachers' Union. Student and faculty protests succeeded in bringing about a review of the dismissals. It is interesting to note that one of the arguments used by the students in the case was that more consideration should be given to teaching--rather than research--when appointment decisions were made. This issue was to become important in the sixties.

There were scattered conflicts involving discrimination, school facilities, aid to labor groups, as well as aid to students of other campuses. A very interesting conflict took place when the Crimson Board decided to fight the tutoring schools around Cambridge because the functions of those schools were "inconsistent with sound educational practice." The schools were said to steal exams and write papers for their clients. The Crimson, supported by other

student publications and the faculty, succeeded in bringing about open condemnation of the schools, as well as the establishment of a university-sponsored tutoring service.

Leftist organizations were the single most active group at Harvard, as they were at Wisconsin. They were among the initiators of nineteen out of twenty-nine conflicts. SLID, NSL, and the Harvard Student Union were the most prominent organizations during the thirties. The second most active group was the Crimson, which participated in the initiation of five conflicts. In other words, without the left, activity at Harvard during the thirties would have been minor.

Throughout the decades the Crimson reported the activities of the leftist groups in a humoristic, detached tone. In contrast to the Cardinal, whose editors generally supported the anti-war campaigns, the Crimson joined them only towards the end of the decade.

The pattern of the anti-war strikes at Harvard was similar to that at Wisconsin. The first one was attended by about 200 students sympathetic to the cause, but also by many hundreds who came to see a confrontation with a vocal group opposed to the strike. The next year a special faculty committee endorsed the strike, and 500 students attended. Opponents of the strike had a much smaller following this time; the changes in Europe, as well as the changed attitude on the part of the faculty, had made the strike more respectable, but there was no collaboration

between the administration and the student organizers such as there was at the Wisconsin peace convocations. By 1939 there was a split within the anti-war movement, and two separate meetings were held. The largest one, and the one with faculty support, was sponsored by those who envisioned United States participation in a European war. The other one, still using the name "strike," declared continuous opposition to participation in any war. In 1940 the split between the two groups, and the arguments for and against active participation in the European war, became the dominant issue on campus. When President Conant demanded, in a radio speech, "direct naval and military assistance" to Britain, and a student-faculty group was formed to support his declaration, 500 students gathered to repudiate their president's position. Six hundred students attended the peace strike that year and many participated in a spring drive to gather local citizens' support against Roosevelt's pro-British policies. All these activities were opposed by active interventionists throughout the year; furthermore, a split took place within the ranks of the most active anti-war group, the Harvard Student Union (affiliated with the American Student Union) between interventionists and non-inverventionists; the former walked out and formed the Harvard Liberal Union.

As at Wisconsin, "student power" issues were non-existent at Harvard. Furthermore, at Harvard there were very few campus issues, in contrast to Wisconsin, where the

leftist groups attempted to gain support by focusing attention on campus problems. There were disagreements between student groups and faculty and administration, but only in the realm of political opinions, as in the case of Conant's support for aid to Britain. Students at Harvard did not question their position in the decision making structure of their role set. One reason for this absence of conflict was offered by the Crimson in a discussion of Harvard undergraduates' indifference to "social movements":

> . . . in a college where each member, student and faculty alike, is left free to pursue his given task and no official thought is paid to caste, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude, the average Harvard man finds it hard to see just what he can really agitate about. Student publications, for instance, are not victimized by political censorship, such as the Daily Texan . . . (Crimson 11/28/36).

Harvard's administration stood aloof from the peace movement, in contrast to Wisconsin's, which tried to manipulate it, first in order to make it look respectable, and later, in order to quiet it. More on the academic freedom of students at Harvard and its influence on student-administration-faculty confrontations will be said later.

The Forties

The decade of the forties contains two distinctive periods as regards student political activity. The earlier forties, when the ranks of students were depleted by the war effort, saw, as might be expected, very little student activism. Only two conflicts at Wisconsin, one in 1942 and one in 1944, are deserving of mention here; both of them

were over the issue of religious and/or racial discrimination in housing. The 1942 issue was initiated by the Cardinal in the wake of rumors that black, Jewish, and Chinese students were having difficulty finding rooms.

The 1944 issue arose over the University Club's ouster of a black English instructor who had evidently been accepted by mail (the Club is a social organization for faculty members, some of whom live there). Great pressure was brought to bear on the faculty club members, until the instructor was finally offered membership and residence in the Club.

The post-war years are not generally regarded as a period of student activism, yet in 1946 and in 1948 there were eight and ten conflicts, respectively--each year having more conflicts than any single year studied in the thirties. What was behind this activity? There was no single issue that united all student groups as there was in the thirties and the sixties. Rather, there was action on a variety of issues by several student groups, most prominently, student government bodies and the American Veterans' Committee (a liberal veterans' organization formed nationally by veterans who rejected the more conservative, flag-waving organizations of former soldiers). The single most important organized factor was the AVC--they participated, as initiators or supporters, in at least twelve out of the eighteen conflicts recorded for 1948 and 1946. Outside of

the AVC, veterans were probably active in other organizations as well.

The veterans acted from a different position than political activists on campus traditionally: they came to college late, seeking an education which would enable them to enter the job market. Moreover, the veterans would not accept the argument that they were not yet mature or responsible enough to make decisions. After fighting in Europe and in Asia, they would become indignant when told that anything was none of their business.

There was a variety of issues involved in the conflicts of those years. There were the direct student interest issues--increase in veterans' allowances, demands for more basketball tickets for students, as well as two celebrated attempts to get football coach Harry Strudreher fired. There were anti-discrimination issues--participation in a drive to unseat a racist senator from Mississippi, as well as a drive to eliminate discrimination from university housing. There were civil liberties issues--opposition to legislative attempts to get rid of communists on campus, as well as opposition to an administrative attempt to have all organizations submit complete membership lists. Finally, there were drives to return voluntary ROTC to the campus.

The greatest heat in 1946 was brought on by the ROTC issue--which united many student groups--without any apparent support from the faculty or the administration. ROTC was again a big issue in 1948, and so was the scandal

around a petition to force the football coach to resign. While the attempts to reinstitute a voluntary system of military training failed, the unpopular coach took his leave. Another important issue in that year--at least retrospectively, was the initiation of a very extensive study of discrimination in the university; the issue arose when a black student who had been accepted in one of the rooming houses when she applied by mail was refused acceptance upon appearance in person. The student government conducted a very extensive study, over a period of two years. The recommendations were accepted by the faculty as well as by the president, but when it came to the regents (in 1950-51), the recommendations were ignored and a poor substitute accepted in their stead. The issue, to be sure, did not involve masses of students--it involved mainly the student government, but it represented a big effort on the part of student representatives to introduce changes in the university, an effort that failed.

Another issue, one that appeared to be somewhat of a scandal for the university, concerned the regents' failure to reappoint a popular political science instructor, Howard McMurray, in spite of the unanimous recommendation of McMurray's department and the Dean of Letters and Science. The Daily Cardinal hinted that the instructor was being punished by the regents because he ran for office as a Democrat, but neither student nor faculty efforts to keep him were of any avail.

The politics of the period--as exemplified by the conflict over discrimination in housing, were establishmentarian politics. The main actors worked through established channels; there were few demonstrations, mass rallies, or strikes. The main means utilized were resolutions, petitions, and delegations to the relevant authorities. There was no questioning of the superior role of other role groups in the role set, as there was to be in later years. The students played the game of politics in a trade-unionist fashion. It should also be pointed out that the results of the student actions were not always positive, yet there was no attempt to give up the channels used, nor to question their utility. Two decades later students would not accept failure in so docile a manner.

In general, the administration was not as involved in student activities in the forties as it was in the thirties. On such issues as ROTC and legislative investigations of campus radicals, it remained aloof, probably due to the general mood in the country at the time.

On other issues, like discrimination in housing and a student request to remove a Lake Mendota boathouse concession run by a reputed anti-Semite, the university administration kept postponing their decision as to what action should be taken, and, in the final analysis, did not give in to student demands.

Following the general mood of the times, the administration attempted to clamp down on radical groups,

especially the American Youth for Democracy--through the application of a war-time ruling requiring all student organizations to file complete membership lists. The ruling was shelved only in the face of a strong, united protest from the leaders of several student organizations.

At Harvard, there were only eight conflicts in the forties, compared to twenty-two at Wisconsin. Why the difference? In the first place, although Harvard had a branch of the American Veterans Committee, the organization was very inactive, participating in the initiation of only one of the seven conflicts in 1946 and 1948. The leadership of the organization was not energetic, but more important, a very small proportion of the campus veterans showed interest in the organization's activities. One reason may be that Harvard veterans were better off financially than Wisconsin veterans.

At Harvard, the most active group of the period was the Harvard Liberal Union, which started as the interventionist section of the Harvard Student Union in 1941, and later affiliated with the United States Student Assembly, formed in 1943 by liberal, pro-New Deal groups, with the explicit exclusion of communists. Later in 1947, when the organization wanted to join the newly formed Students for Democratic Action, its membership defeated the move because SDA excluded communists. Earlier in the same year the communist-dominated executive committee of the HLU had

been unseated by the membership. This twisted pattern affords a good partial explanation of the relative inactivity of Harvard's students at the time: the most active elements among them were torn by the issue of exclusion of communists from their organizations, and thus not only lost organizational vigor but also shied away from activities that could be interpreted as adoption of communist arguments. It should be pointed out that the proper attitude towards communists was an issue in most of the student organizations of the time; furthermore, it was a direct reflection of what was taking place outside of the student organizations. Most important, the faculty at Harvard was clearly in favor of exclusion of communists, even when the activity in question was teaching. President Conant was a member of an Educational Policies Commission sponsored by the National Educational Association and the American Association of School Administrators which declared that "members of the Communist Party of the United States should not be employed as teachers . . . (because such membership) and the accompanying surrender of intellectual integrity, render an individual unfit to discharge the duties of a teacher in this country."

The students at Harvard did not actively fight for civil liberties. When the Radcliffe chapter of the American Youth for Democracy refused to submit a requested list of its members to the administration, it was expelled by the Radcliffe Student Council--an action seconded by the

Crimson. A similar incident at Wisconsin, it will be recalled, aroused united opposition to the administration on the part of most student organizations.

Thus, in addition to inactivity on the part of organized veterans at Harvard, one finds student liberal organizations torn by internal division over acceptance of communist members and support of policies which might look communist. The stand of the president of the university and of the majority of the faculty, in turn, helped to reinforce student reluctance to initiate political activity.

The actions that did take place concerned a variety of issues. In 1946 the most notable conflict arose over the refusal of a local bar to allow entrance to black undergraduates. A variety of student organizations, as well as local civic groups, joined in a series of actions, including a publicity campaign, a boycott of the bar, and a picket, which finally brought about a change in the bar's policies. In 1948 a conflict arose around the recommendation that a plaque be erected as a memorial to Harvard's Second World War dead. The overwhelming student majority wanted the memorial to take the form of an activities center and an auditorium. Several student organizations, led by the Student Council, joined in a campaign to make their views known to the thousands of Harvard alumni, but the Corporation approved the plaque recommendation. In the same year, the Dean of Students proposed that all inquiries by student organizations to the vice president pass

first through his hands, in order to lighten the latter's burden. The Student Council rose against the proposal. It should be pointed out here that the Student Council at Harvard has traditionally been a study group rather than a legislative or executive body. The Student Council's reports were taken seriously by the administration, and were the main voice and influence that students had in the running of Harvard. Thus, the reaction to a rule that would impair their investigative powers was understandable. The administration's reaction was very telling--the dean hurriedly apologized for his action, and declared he would accept any recommendation on the part of the Council.

As at Wisconsin, students acted through established channels during the forties. The main means used were resolutions, petitions and delegations to campus authorities. There was no questioning of the distribution of decision making power within the university or outside it. At Harvard, more so than at Wisconsin, the late forties were a clear prelude to the "silent generation" of the fifties.

The Fifties

With the graduation of the veterans, and under the influence of the cold war and an internal drive against anything that could be called "red," activism on the University of Wisconsin campus slowly disappeared. Compared to the other periods covered here--with the sole exception of World War II, the fifties present the quietest campus

scene. Radical groups were either non-existent, nonactive, or, when active, hardly noticeable. The conflicts recorded for this period usually dragged on for long periods of time, and were almost never accompanied by the excitement of mass participation or the tension of sharp confrontation. Most of the conflicts were fought by the official organs of the student body--whether the Cardinal or the governmental organizations. The Cardinal was clearly the most active student institution, and it kept calling throughout the period for more student interest and involvement in political or social issues. The Cardinal also kept analyzing the "Silent Generation," or the "Jellyfish Generation," in attempts to explain the inactivity of the students and also to find a way out of it. It openly attacked the one cause it mentioned most frequently--Senator Joseph McCarthy.

The most frequent issues in the fifties were protests against compulsory ROTC and budget cuts by the state legislature. The fights against proposed budget cuts cannot be understood without pointing out that they were usually fought by the university as a whole--not only by the students; it was relatively easy to get student signatures on a subject on which faculty and administration openly agreed with the students, and furthermore, initiated the action.

The fight against ROTC should be seen in light of the fact that ROTC had been voluntary at Wisconsin since 1923, and was made compulsory again during the war, so that

it was a question of restoring something that had already existed, and not of offering a completely new policy. Even so, the protests against compulsory ROTC were mild. In 1950, as well as in 1956, the protest consisted of a small group of silent, walking protestors carrying signs at a ROTC function. In 1954, the immediate issue was a new loyalty oath for ROTC men; the strongest protest against the oath came from the faculty. The students (with the exception of the Cardinal) were too timid to use the issue for a general attack on compulsory ROTC. In 1958 the ROTC issue was in the hands of the student government, which approached it by way of a detailed study and several resolutions. This time, however, the student government succeeded in getting a voluntary ROTC bill to the legislature.

There was also activity in the field of racial discrimination--starting with the defeat of a student proposal for the elimination of discrimination in housing in 1950, after a two-year effort, and including a protracted effort--which lasted into the sixties--to have fraternities and sororities eliminate discriminatory clauses from their charters.

Another theme in several of the conflicts was the defense of free speech. In 1950-51 student organizations made some stir over the refusal of the Kemper-Knapp fund, which usually supported guest speakers, to finance the appearance of Max Lerner. The students succeeded in bringing him the same day Senator McCarthy appeared on campus

for a speech to the Young Republicans. McCarthy was laughed at by part of the audience, while Lerner was applauded, which led the latter to declare that the students at Wisconsin were not part of the "Marshmallow Generation." In 1954, Students for Democratic Action led a drive against McCarthy, and in 1956 the campus organizations put up a united front against a ruling by SLIC that would require them to submit complete membership lists. This conflict, which resulted in a partial victory for the students, drew together the largest number of organizations of any of the conflicts recorded during the decade.

The issue of membership lists had started out of a dispute between the Labor Youth League and SLIC, a dispute which led, in the final analysis, to the disbandment of LYL. The Daily Cardinal, commenting on the case, said:

> The spirit of radicalism is dying. This became painfully evident . . . with the announcement that the Labor Youth League has finally succumbed to the combined pressures of the American Legion, the university refusal to accept its officers, and lack of membership. It seeks likely that the third reason is the strongest (DC 10/2/56).

Which is a good commentary of the status of radical groups on campus in the fifties.

But radical groups were not the only ones that failed to recruit an active membership. Student interest in student government activities was not abundant either. In April, 1953, for example, a laborious effort on the part of members of the student government to restructure their organization was shelved after it failed to be approved in

a campus referendum because not enough students showed up to vote.

Throughout the fifties, the administration's behavior toward student activism could best be described as midway between traditional liberalism and harassment of radical groups. Thus, the administration joined other university administrations in protesting a ROTC loyalty oath introduced in 1954 by the Defense Department, while, on the other hand, it did everything possible to make life difficult for the Labor Youth League. Since the radical groups, as noted above, were small and generally rejected by the student body, the administration rarely met opposition to these actions, and its liberal reputation was rarely challenged by the students.

At Harvard, the fifties were even less eventful than at Wisconsin. Only seven conflicts were recorded in that decade, compared to seventeen at Wisconsin; furthermore, for two of the five years, 1954 and 1958, no conflicts were recorded at all.

The main issue during the early fifties was the attacks on academic freedom by congressional investigative committees. Harvard faculty members and students appeared before these committees, some taking the Fifth Amendment. The case of Furry, Kamin and Markham--three members of the faculty--was the most salient. When they refused to testify about alleged communist affiliations the Corporation

undertook an investigation of the case aimed at deciding whether they could be maintained as teachers. Throughout the investigation, the student body remained silent. When the Corporation decided to keep the three, the Crimson praised the action, though the editors expressed dissatisfaction over the fact that the Corporation saw refusal to testify as "misconduct." When two law students were invited to testify before the Jenner committee, no student group supported them, and they were deprived of honors they had achieved as outstanding students, including election to the Harvard Law Review.

In the wake of a wave of cancellations by student organizations of activities which might be construed as sympathetic to communism, Arthur Schlesinger wrote to the Crimson that he could not understand what the students were afraid of, since there was nothing in the communists' arguments (in this particular case, those of Howard Fast) that his "ten year old son could not handle on a bad day" (Crimson 5/6/53).

The only actual conflict which arose over attempts to stifle academic freedom occurred in March of 1953, when several groups organized a Combined University Students' Committee on Academic Freedom in anticipation of a visit by Jenner's committee to Boston. When the CUSCAF planned rallies in the various area colleges, culminating in a mass rally on the Boston Common, the Student Council called the action "rash." Eventually, the CUSCAF scrapped plans

for pickets and displays of buttons and banners, and settled for petitions and small delegations. However, when the two law students mentioned above were called before Jenner, CUSCAF did not protest. Thus, the student organizations of the fifties did almost nothing about the biggest issue of the time.

Another conflict arose in the area of student-administration relations. The issue was a set of regulations applying to Harvard's student organization. When in late 1948 the Dean of Students declared that a new set of regulations was necessary, the Student Council devoted a long time to drawing up recommendations. A faculty committee revised most of the Council's proposals and finally, in February of 1951, the dean published the new regulations, ignoring most of the Council's recommendations. The main disagreements were on rules requiring the filing of membership lists (the students argued that the lists should be made available to the dean upon request, but should not be opened to outside investigators) and on whether Cliffies could be members of Harvard organizations (the students thought they should). Despite the many efforts expended by the Council on their study of the question, when the new regulations ignoring their work were published, the Council backed down on most of its earlier demands, and decided to pursue "further study" of the membership rule. This was a far cry from the students' reaction to the administration's failure to accept some of their proposals in the sixties.

It should be pointed out that although there was no overt harassment of leftist organizations at Harvard, as there was at Wisconsin, the requirement that they file membership lists with the administration made their existence impossible. Thus, the John Reed Club decided to go underground instead of publishing their names, and the Young Progressives had to lose their charter because they could not find twenty members (minimum required) willing to have their names associated with the organization.

At Harvard, as at Wisconsin, students not only feared to join radical groups, but were apathetic towards any type of political activity. Thus, when the Student Council decided to hold its first publicized meeting in March 1955, only ten students came. The biggest political activities were, as at Wisconsin, during election years, in the contests of the Young Democrats and the Young Republicans. Towards the end of the decade, though, the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and the Committee to Study Disarmament made their appearance and provided the basis for much activity in 1959-60 (which was not included in the sample) and 1960-61 (which was).

As at Wisconsin, the main groups active were governmental groups--mainly the Student Council--and the means employed were representational. Above all, there was very little activity, and very few students participated in it.

The Sixties

When one looks at the development of the student movement at Wisconsin in the sixties, he finds, first of all, a variety of issues, tactics, groups, and patterns of participation; the picture is one of a growing general fermentation rather than of a few organizations striving cohesively and in unison for the achievement of a number of goals.

In 1960, there was small-scale action lacking any noticeable following on the campus at large--by the Socialist Club (against United States intervention in Cuba), by the Student Peace Union and other small peace groups against massive spending for civil defense and disarmament--as well as anti-HUAC activity, a reaction to the San Francisco anti-HUAC demonstrations and the infamous "Operation Abolition" film. It is interesting to note that the student government at the time started to show interest in off campus issues, limiting itself, though, to the passage of resolutions such as one expressing sympathy for Algeria. It should also be noted that this action--not to mention the activity of the socialist and peace groups--drew strong criticism from the Cardinal, which argued that students should not concern themselves with affairs which are "neither of our (student) making nor within our power to resolve" and are "completely outside the area of student responsibility" (DC 4/25/61).

The 1962-63 school year is similar to that of 1960-61. The Socialist Club and peace groups such as the Student Peace Union and SPAD (Students for Peace and Disarmament), as well as the Young Socialist Alliance, were the groups that showed concern with off campus action (Cuba, HUAC, help to Kentucky miners). The biggest conflict, though, was a protest by fraternity and sorority members against a faculty rule that required campus fraternal organizations to be autonomous from their national organizations with regard to membership regulations, so as to be able to accept members without racial or religious discrimination. Failure to comply with the rule brought a threat of expulsion to one sorority, and this, in turn, ignited a strong controversy about how much the faculty and administration could regulate student organizations, as well as a demonstration by 1,200 Greeks on Bascom Hill.

The year 1964-65 was different. The first part of the year had some of the old themes--there was a fight to abolish housing regulations, as well as a continuation of the fight against the anti-discrimination rules concerning sororities and fraternities. There was anti-HUAC activity, as well as a large crowd at an anti-Goldwater rally. Students began to express dissatisfaction with the administration; the leader of the fight against housing regulations said that "if the administration really trusted its students, the Student Life and Interest Committee (SLIC) would be abolished, and only students would debate the

matters now coming before SLIC" (DC 10/28/64). Two years later, this exact proposal--at the time not widely supported, became the actual demand of a widely based movement to abolish SLIC.

In the spring of 1965, the campus had already seen an anti-Vietnam demonstration, and now the Student Faculty Committee to End the War in Vietnam organized a teach-in on the war, similar to the first one held at the University of Michigan, attended by around 5,000 students. The event aroused bitter opposition from an anti-left, pro-Vietnam group, which organized a Committee to Support the People of South Vietnam and gathered 6,000 signatures supporting the government's policies on the war. The same spring also saw strong civil-rights activity, focused around the drive to help civil rights workers in the South, with relatively large delegations sent to Selma, Alabama, and Washington, D.C., as well as local rallies in support of these struggles. In the same year, as if to exemplify the rather absurd position of the student in the university--at the same time that thousands of students were participating in activities concerning the war in Vietnam, and hundreds were getting involved in the struggle for civil rights, residents of the dormitories were arguing with Residence Hall administrators over how they were to dress for dinner.

The 1966-67 school year saw war protest as its major issue, whether in the form of silent vigils against the war or in heckling of Teddy Kennedy for his refusal to

address himself to the questions of the war, or in pickets of election booths protesting the lack of discussion of the war in the election campaigns. Other protests centered around the Spring Mobilization Against the War--two nationally-coordinated peace rallies, one in New York and the other in San Francisco. Madison sent 175 participants to New York and also was the scene of an accompanying protest against CIA recruitment on campus. At the same time, labor-union type organizations for the protection of student interests made their appearance, the most prominent in that year being the Student Tenant Union. There were also protests over failure to consult residents of the dormitories on the hiring and firing of housefellows, as well as a huge protest over the city's refusal to remove a hazardous bus lane from a campus street.

The year also saw a big student power conflict. Arising out of an SDS anti-Dow sit-in and an attempt to revoke the status of SDS as a student organization, a dispute developed as to who had the final say as to the status of a student organization, SLIC or the Student Court. Two campus parties, one of them the University Campus Action, which had been formed earlier that year by members of radical groups on the assumption that the best way to achieve their goals would be to form themselves into a regular student party, introduced a bill to the Student Senate that would put final responsibility over student group and social life in the hands of the student government. The

bill was passed, over the opposition of conservative student delegates. A long discussion of the constitutionality of the bill ensued, including a campus-wide referendum in which 6,146 out of 10,052 students approved the bill. The issue was not resolved during that school year, but the conflict represented the culmination of the issue of student independence from faculty and administrative tutelage.

The year 1968 was characterized by student attempts to participate in several aspects of university life--admissions (of black students), curriculum, teaching assistants' salaries, and student discipline. The biggest conflict occurred over demands of the Black People's Alliance. The organization originally presented the administration with a list of eight demands. The demands were not met, and the issue came to a head when in February the BSA presented an ultimatum, declaring that the administration had to meet thirteen demands, or they would shut down the university. Strikes, sit-ins, disruptions, and confrontations between students and police and national guardsmen followed upon these demands, with as many as 7,000 students joining the black students, supported by the student government, the Daily Cardinal, and various departmental organizations.

Students, the "unconsulted consumer" (DC 11/20/69), tried to achieve participation in making educational policy by working through the system; students in departments of History, Psychology, Political Science, English, and Engineering and Science formed departmental associations whose

concerns were "for creating a community of scholars in which professors and students treat each other as equals and, as groups, have an equal voice in determining the policies which affect them" (DC 11/5/68). When communications between departmental associations and faculty broke down, students protested, as when the history faculty passed a resolution excluding students from departmental meetings a month after it had unanimously agreed to open these meetings to students.

The same year, the Teaching Assistants' Association demanded "participation in and negotiation of the decisions that affect the terms and conditions of the employment of TA's at the University"; i.e., recognition of the TAA as the exclusive bargaining agent of the TA's at Wisconsin. Their demand was at first refused, but in May, following a referendum in which the overwhelming majority of TA's voted for the TAA, the organization was certified as the official union.

The year also saw students viewing their community as apart from the rest of the city, a community over which they alone had the right to exercise control. Attempts on the part of the District Attorney and Chief of Police to censor the play "Peter Pan" were met with defiance on the part of the director and cast and a barrage of letters to the Cardinal from outraged students. When the Board of Regents attacked the Cardinal for its use of obscene language, the traditionally independent paper's reaction

was, "Up against the Wall, Re...ts," a denouncement of the "outright effort to exert regent authority on students' life and interests as well as a violation of the freedom of the press and free speech" (DC 11/5/68). In May a block party held in the Mifflin Street area turned into a riot when police came to break it up. It was followed by several days of protests and battles between students and police. The incident aroused general demands for "the right to control the business of life in our own community" (DC 5/6/69).

During the 1968-69 school year, SDS and WDRU (the Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union) worked together on labor issues; they joined picket lines with striking teamsters and city employees, and picketed local supermarkets carrying California grapes in support of the grape boycott.

This year was also characterized by the sheer numbers of students that participated in protests and demonstrations. In addition to the protests already mentioned, 3,000 students participated in a march designed to express support for GI's in California who were opposed to the war, and 2,000 participated in a march whose dual purpose was to protest the election system in the United States and the return of Dow Chemical Company recruiters to campus (the year before a peaceful protest against Dow erupted into a violent student-police confrontation when police forcibly removed demonstrators from the Commerce Building and was followed by a general class strike).

Finally, students did not limit their protests to university authorities, but brought their grievances to the Madison City Council and the Dane County Board of Supervisors, probably because of the presence of student members on these bodies: draft cards were burned before the eyes of members of the Dane County Board of Supervisors, and draft resisters turned in their draft cards to the Mayor at a meeting of the Madison City Council. Students also attended hearings on rezoning proposals and attempted to prevent high-rise buildings from being built in low-rent residential areas.

Harvard students in the fall of 1960 seemed to be aware that they were entering a new phase of political activism, already begun in the previous year. The first issue of the Crimson featured articles on student politics in the thirties and fifties, as well as descriptions of current political styles.

The year saw twice as many conflicts at Harvard as at Wisconsin. The most important issue was disarmament, and the most active organization was Tocsin, a disarmament group which organized an all-day, university-wide demonstration, hailed as the first demonstration on such a scale in more than fifteen years. The purpose of this well-organized and well-publicized effort was to stimulate student thought and discussion of disarmament and to influence the government's policies. The group was invited

to discuss its proposals with a member of the State Department after the demonstration; something that could happen only at Harvard. The same year saw the beginning of civil rights activity at Harvard, which included a SNCC-sponsored election protest against denial of voting rights to southern blacks and a picket of Kresge stores.

As at Wisconsin, there were protests against the HUAC film "Operation Abolition" and against United States intervention in Cuba. However, the most sensational conflict of the year was typical Harvardanian: 4,000 students participated in demonstrations, sit-ins and disruptions of traffic in protest against a decision to print diplomas in English rather than Latin. With a slogan of "Latin si, Pusey no," the whole affair had the flavor of a traditional spring riot, and the administration held to its original decision.

In 1962-63 disarmament and civil rights were the major issues, with the latter assuming first importance. Civil rights activities were coordinated with other Boston-area colleges through the Civil Rights Coordinating Committee. These activities centered around three areas: tutorial help for black school children, discrimination in housing, and discrimination in employment practices. Most efforts were directed to legal channels rather than to public protests. One notable exception was a mass rally held on the Boston Common to protest the treatment of

marchers in Birmingham, Alabama, in which over 200 Harvard-Radcliffe students participated.

Tocsin continued to be an active organization, joining a peace demonstration in New York and organizing a protest against the Cuba blockage. The only on campus issue of the year concerned the firing of Richard Alpert and Timothy Leary for experimenting with hallucinogenic drugs and undergraduates, but the firing took place too late in the year for any serious protest to develop.

At Harvard, as at Wisconsin, the 1964-65 school year was a very active one. Student activity became more militant; Tocsin dissolved itself and bequeathed its possessions to SDS, because "Its members are turning away from a passive study of peace and foreign policy and instead, embracing direct participation in the domestic problems which they see facing the country" (Crimson 10/3/64). Most of the student political activity occurred in spring, and most of it centered around civil rights, especially the Selma-Montgomery march; and Vietnam. The Crimson, which in 1962-63 had taken a jaundiced view of student protests, supported the activists wholeheartedly. There appeared to be increased social awareness among the traditionally aloof student body, with many students volunteering for community-poverty type projects and some helping local residents to right urban renewal.

Protests against United States involvement in Vietnam began in the winter, organized by SDS and the May

Second Movement. Protest activity was continuous throughout the spring semester. Much of it was coordinated with other Boston-area colleges, and included a rally on Boston Common, participation in the April nation-wide march on Washington, several sit-ins, and attempts to contact and challenge government officials.

Interest in civil rights was high, with students following closely the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's voter registration drive and the SNCC-SCLC-sponsored Selma-Montgomery march. Several Harvard students and faculty joined marchers in Selma and Montgomery, and delegations were sent to the Washington demonstration organized by SNCC. In Boston, Harvard-Radcliffe students picketed, sat-in and finally slept in at the Federal Building to protest the violence in Selma and to demand federal protection for the marchers. They also joined a large demonstration held on the Boston Common to mourn the death of a Boston minister beaten to death in Selma and to demand federal intervention.

The 1966-67 year saw increased student political activity, much of it centered around the Vietnam war. During the course of the year student opinion solidified against the war, and by the end of the year the Crimson reported that almost a quarter of the undergraduates had either signed "We Won't Go" pledges or requested the government to institute "conscientious objector" status on the basis of an individual's dissent from a specific war (Crimson, Commencement Issue, 1967). SDS organized protests

against Dow recruiters, against Hubert Humphrey, and against John McNamara when the latter refused to debate the war during a visit to Harvard. As in 1964-65, spring brought continuous activity against the war, only this time many more students participated. Many joined the Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam. Other anti-war activities were joined or initiated by such diverse groups as the Young Democrats, the African and Afro-American Student Association, the East Asian Studies Department, and Divinity School students. A special effort independent of the New Left was made by a group of moderate students, who organized the National Day of Inquiry on Vietnam, a teach-in held on more than seventy campuses, and petitions to the government for an alternative form of service for those who could not "in good conscience" fight in Vietnam. Finally, both moderate and radical students joined a coalition which included faculty members and local residents to organize citizens against the war, a project dubbed "Vietnam Summer."

This was the year that students at Harvard began to question the administration's "undemocratic decision making" (Crimson 1/25/67). Graduate students began to agitate for reform in the Medical School, the School of Education, the Law School, the Graduate School of Design, and the Department of Economics, questioning the value of required curricula, seeking a closer relationship with the faculty, and asserting that they should play a larger role in determining the educational and administrative policies

of their schools. However, this agitation did not take the form of organized protest; rather, students petitioned their deans for changes. Most of these petitions were granted, although the Crimson lamented that "after one year of subdued agitation, there have been no major changes in student-administration relations in any of the parts of the University" (Crimson 2/11/67).

The first real student-power conflict occurred at Radcliffe rather than at Harvard College, when a group of girls began a hunger strike to obtain the right of all seniors to have their own apartments, declaring that "If students were adequately represented in the administrative process, such extreme protests as ours would not be necessary" (Crimson 5/15/67). The strike was called off when the president of Radcliffe set up a committee to arbitrate the dispute, the girls lost, and the Crimson declared that "Consultation is as much a myth at Radcliffe college as it is in the Johnson administration" (Crimson 5/22/67). Another attempt to gain more student power occurred when the Federation of Teaching Fellows was formed. However, the teaching fellows were no more successful than the Cliffies; their demands were turned down by the administration at the end of the academic year.

Of the various conflicts that took place during 1968-69, one, revolving around the status of ROTC at Harvard and culminating in the occupation of University Hall, overshadowed all the rest. The conflict started early in

the fall when the Harvard Undergraduate Committee proposed withdrawing academic privileges from ROTC. The proposal was supported by the Harvard-Radcliffe Policy Committee, and was considered by the Student-Faculty Advisory Committee, a group formed to facilitate communications between students and faculty after the anti-Dow demonstrations of the previous year. At this point SDS entered the scene. While both HUC and HRPC--student-governmental bodies that had achieved moderate success in reforming various aspects of student life at Harvard--were proposing withdrawal of academic privileges--such as credit, course descriptions in the catalogue, and Corporation appointments for ROTC instructors--SDS took the position that the basic issue was not academic but moral; since ROTC trained officers for an army that engaged in suppression of freedom abroad, keeping the program on campus was equivalent to condoning and collaborating with the actions of the military. Accordingly, SDS demanded complete removal of ROTC--even as an extracurricular activity--from Harvard.

Throughout the year, student opinion was divided over the above proposals. However, SDS set the tone by the initiatives it took to implement its position, and soon the issue was confounded by a controversy over tactics, violence, and the structure of decision making at the university. When a faculty meeting was called to discuss the alternative proposals on ROTC, SDS demanded to be allowed into the meeting. When the administration refused, about

200 students sat in at the University Hall, awaiting the faculty. The administration, however, canceled the meeting, and took bursar cards from many of the students. For the next few months the emphasis turned to the issue of punishment. SDS argued that punishment would be "political suppression," and the moderates asked the administration not to punish the demonstrators. In addition, a special faculty committee was appointed to consider the proposal to allow student attendance at future faculty meetings; as a special measure, three student-governmental bodies were invited to send observers to current faculty meetings.

During the winter months, the faculty passed a resolution recommending the withdrawal of academic credit from ROTC. In response, the administration, and especially President Pusey, hinted that they wanted to keep ROTC on campus.

Things came to a head when SDS organized the occupation of University Hall: 250 students took over the building, physically removing several deans from it. During the night, the administration called the police. While a great part of the student body watched and hissed, local police brutally removed the occupiers, resulting in condemnation of the administration by moderate groups. The next day, 2,000 students met and called a three-day strike, demanding that charges against demonstrators be dropped, that a binding referendum be held on ROTC and that the Corporation be restructured. At that time the organization of

blacks at Harvard joined the protest, adding their demands for student power in the proposed Afro-American Studies Department. After three days, it was decided at a second mass meeting to prolong the strike for three more days. A list of demands similar to that supported by SDS was drawn up, including, in addition to the original three demands, an end to Harvard's physical expansion in Cambridge.

The faculty resolved to limit the status of ROTC to that of any other extracurricular activity, and the Corporation promptly declared that it would faithfully abide by the faculty's vote on ROTC and relocate any tenants evicted by Harvard's expansion plans. The students then decided to halt the strike for seven days and hold a secret ballot on resuming it. Later, the faculty approved the blacks' demands for an increased role in the planned Afro-American department, and the Corporation again declared its intention to abide by the faculty's vote on ROTC. The secret ballot found that a 74% majority wanted no further strike. SDS, dissatisfied by the excessive emphasis put throughout on student power instead of on the moral aspects of ROTC, continued with several demonstrations and disruptions of meetings of a committee appointed to consider disciplining the demonstrators, but the high point of the conflict was over. It was, beyond doubt, the biggest conflict in the history of Harvard.

Aside from the ROTC conflict, the most persistent issue in the 1968-69 year involved student power at the

departmental level, although it was not always manifested in the form of open conflicts. Students in Romance Languages, Comparative Literature, English, Education, History, Physics and other departments brought up grievances and demanded changes, in many cases involving student representation. A confrontation occurred at the Law School, when students demanded representation at faculty meetings as well as a rehauling of the grading system. In addition, the content of several courses was criticized by students. A course on urban violence was changed drastically after black students protested its content.

Black students were very active: the main object was the creation of an Afro-American Studies department, in which they demanded and received student representation. Black students were also active with respect to curriculum and recruitment to various departments. Finally, black students at Radcliffe demanded increased recruitment of black girls, as well as a voice in the appointment of an admission officer to deal with black recruitment. When Radcliffe's administration failed to respond fast enough, a sit-in and pickets covered by national TV brought about quick acceptance of most demands by the administration.

The decade of the sixties saw a student movement on both campuses which was quite different from anything seen before. In sheer numbers of participants, variety of activities, and scope of issues, this movement was

unprecedented. But there are other characteristics which are more important. In the sixties students as a group questioned the relationship between themselves and the traditional members of their role set--the administration and the faculty, as well as a variety of local authorities; they also went beyond the campus to assert themselves in areas of national concern to a larger degree than ever before. For the first time, student groups rejected the rights of other groups to make a variety of decisions concerning them, and they asserted their own right to participate with other groups in their role set in the making of certain decisions. In a number of areas, students asserted that they were the only ones who could make decisions.

At Wisconsin, especially, there was a rejection of the image of students as immature, irresponsible young people not yet able to make or participate in the making of decisions of the adult world. There were expressions of "class consciousness" appearing in on campus issues as well as in off campus ones, and extending to students in other universities. There were also expressions of rejection of the traditional concept of in loco parentis.

Furthermore, a very large number of conflicts took place--larger than in any other period--and there was a greater variety of issues around which conflicts arose. Student groups recurred to a variety of means when they were involved in conflicts. Means such as resolutions,

representations to the authorities, and petitions were still in use, but the most frequent means used were mass means--demonstrations, sit-ins, mass meetings, and strikes. Large numbers of students were visibly and sometimes violently involved in the conflicts. And when student demands were not met, students insisted on their rights rather than back down, even when the university authorities sought help from local and state forces.

In the sixties, students were found in the center of politics--they did not--like their predecessors of the thirties--follow the policies of adult organizations. Rather, they initiated issues, and they were among the most active supporters of those issues, if not the most active ones. The faculty that in prior periods had had to campaign to recruit student support in political action, found themselves playing second fiddle, when not playing a different tune altogether. The same holds true for many of the traditional adult organizations that in earlier periods had raised some of the issues that student groups raised in the sixties. The campus became a strong focal point for political action--and not because of the faculty or the administration.

Student political activism of the sixties was not the type of activism that dismaying faculty and individual student leaders of the past had hoped that students would engage in: it was rather activism that strove towards changes inside the university as well as outside of it.

Students were not merely in the position of supporting other groups in the process of change, but were rather one of the central actors, if not, as some members of the New Left have suggested, the central actor.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS AND ALTERNATIVE EXPLANATIONS

This chapter will deal with the nature of the relationship between the changes in the variables described in Chapter III and the changes in the variables described in Chapter IV. This will be done by reviewing the hypotheses as formulated in Chapter II, and by discussing some important issues pertaining to the relationships under study.

It should be pointed out at the start that at the planning stages of this study I expected to find that gradual changes in the variables described in Chapter III (university involvement in national decisions, size of the student population, duration of the role of student, etc.) would be accompanied by a parallel gradual change in the variables described in Chapter IV (students' expectations, and political activity); I expected the general relationship to look like that depicted in Figure 3. As will be seen in the following pages, this was not the nature of the relationship found empirically.

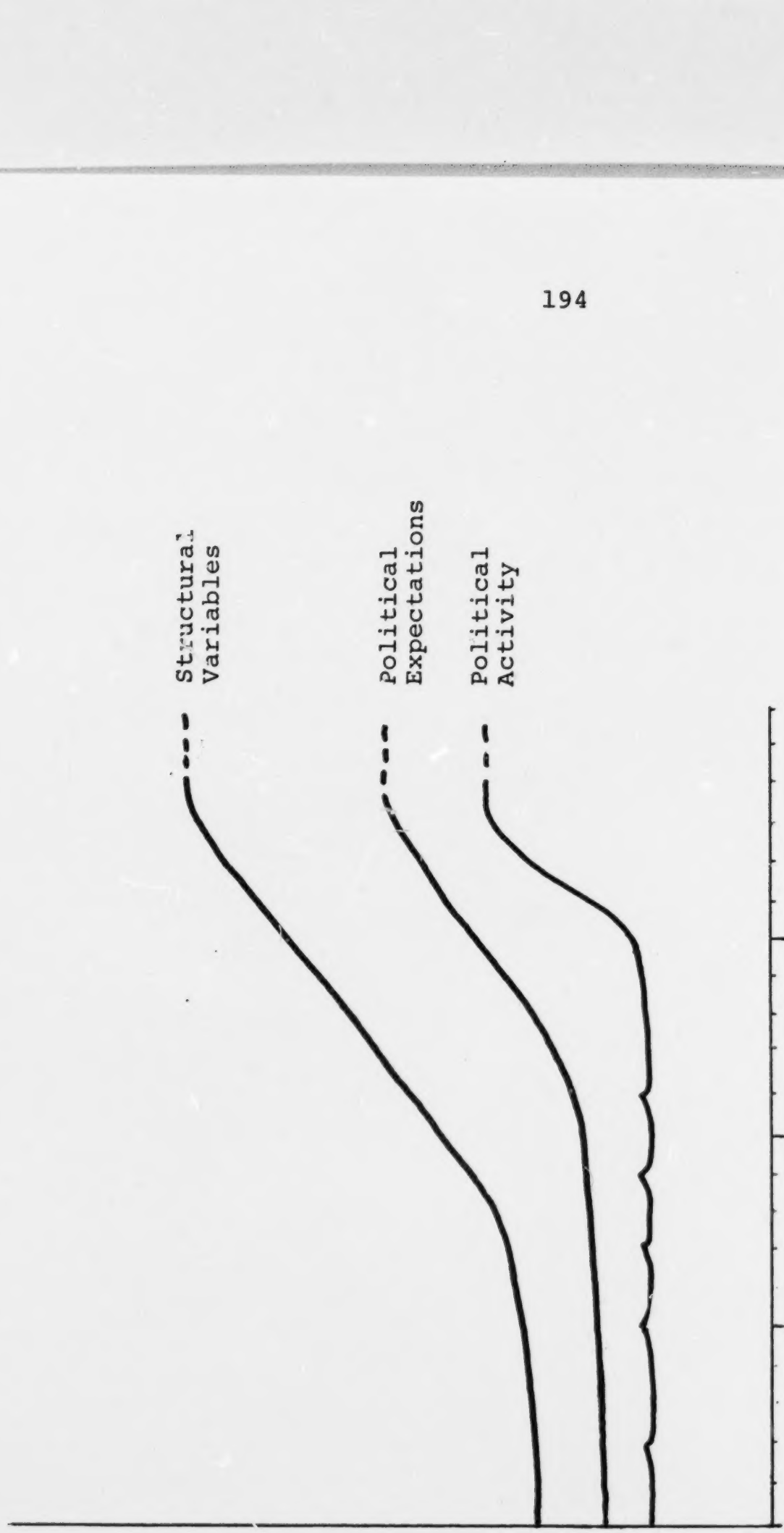


Figure 3. Expected relationship between structural changes and changes in student political expectations and activity.

Review of the Hypotheses

Hypotheses 1 and 3 stated that:

1. A rise in the prominence of the university role set, as manifested by the increasing involvement of the university in social decisions, has been associated with an increase in the number and variety of social and political issues with which students concern themselves and on which they act.

3. A change in the composition of the student population from a fairly homogeneous one to a more heterogeneous one has been associated with an increase in the number and variety of social and political issues with which students concern themselves, and on which they act.

As was seen in Chapter III, the universities' involvement in national decisions started as a result of the Second World War. After the war, the new position of the United States as a major international power and its military competition with the Soviet Union contributed to the continuance of the war-time relationship between the federal government and universities. The relationship grew throughout the fifties, and was accentuated by the scientific competition between the two super-powers after the first Sputnik was launched.

Chapter III also showed a trend towards increasing heterogeneity of the student body. Although the data presented there were far from being satisfactory, and cannot serve as a basis for specification of exact patterns of change, they show that the socio-economic and ethnic composition of the student body has been changing since the Second World War, and especially since the late fifties and early sixties. The same is true about geographical

origin of Wisconsin and Harvard students. In other words, the patterns of change in both university involvement in national decisions and the heterogeneity of the student body appear to be similar in that they both started after the war and were accentuated in the late fifties. These patterns were on the whole similar at both Harvard and Wisconsin, and they followed general national trends.

In Chapter IV it was shown that the sixties witnessed an increase in the number and variety of issues on which students acted; the contrast between the sixties and previous decades was greater at Wisconsin than at Harvard. It is important to add here that these issues were acted upon, in the sixties, by a greater variety of student groups--again, more so at Wisconsin than at Harvard--and that while the student groups of the thirties were following the policies of adult organizations on many issues, those of the sixties initiated most of the action on their own.

As for the relationship between university involvement in national decisions and growing heterogeneity of the student body, on the one hand, and the number and variety of issues with which students concern themselves and on which they act, on the other, while the first two increased gradually throughout the fifties and sixties, the change in the third came in the sixties, and in a rather abrupt form, intensifying rapidly in a few years. The immediately preceding period, the decade of the fifties,

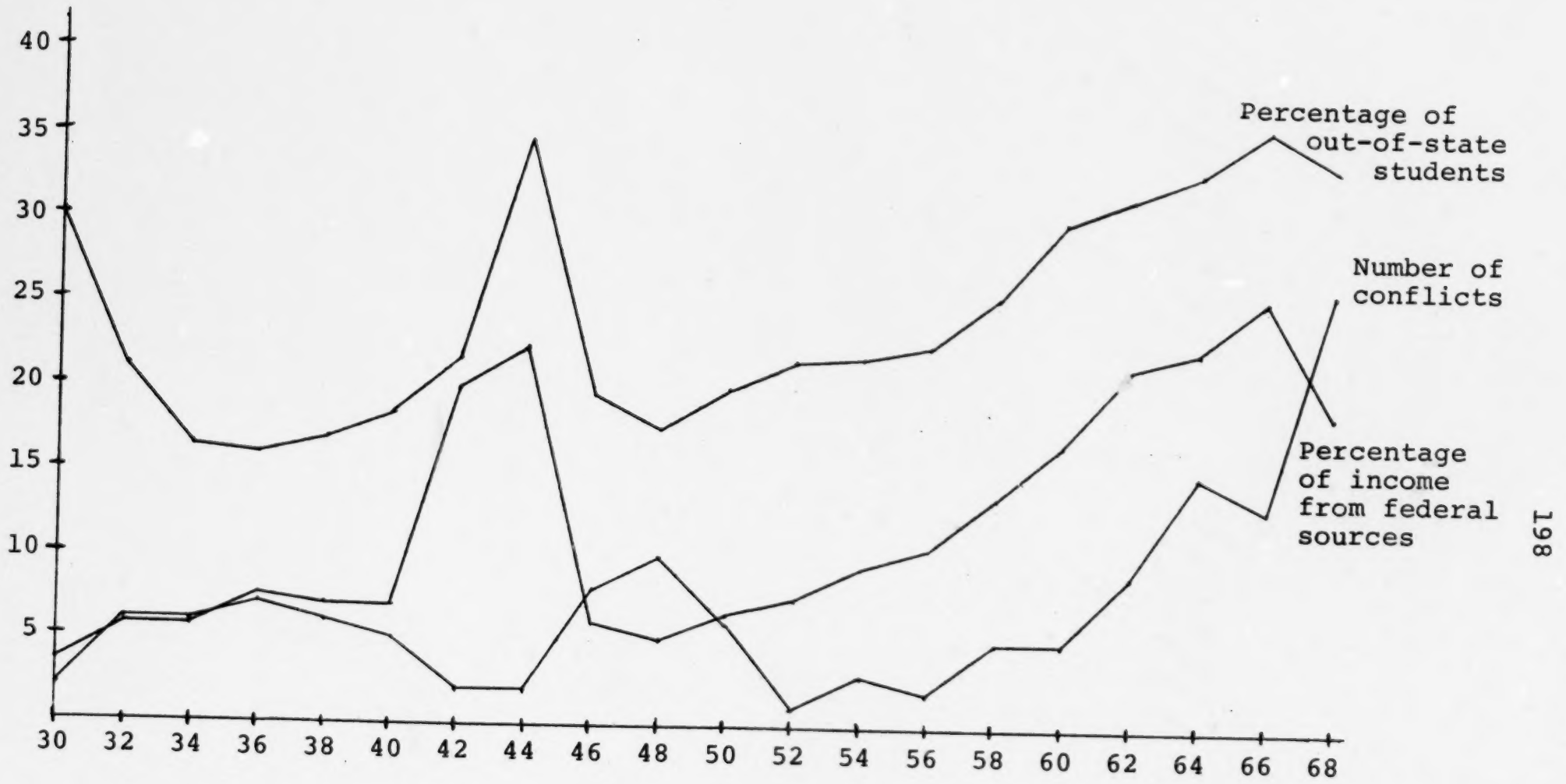
was a very quiet period. In other words, there was a lag of more than a decade between the start of the changes in the first two variables and the start of the change in the third one (see Figures 4 and 5 for a graphic representation of this relationship based on selected indicators).

According to Hypotheses 4 and 5,

4. A growing necessity to attend college in order to succeed in life, as well as an increase in the duration of the role of student, have been associated with an increasing feeling on the part of students that they have a right to participate in the decision making structure of the university, as well as a growing opposition to the traditional authority of the faculty and the administration over student affairs.

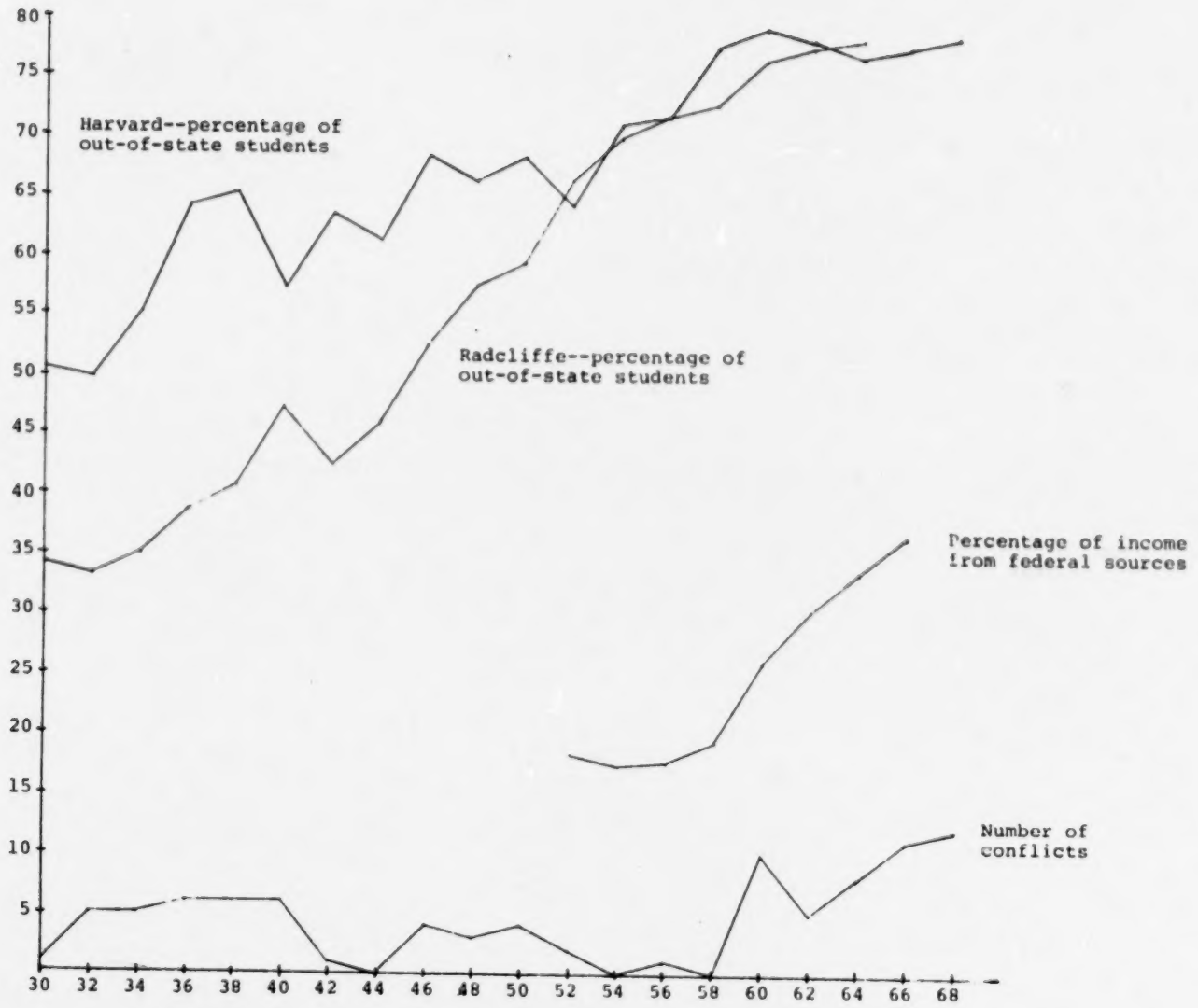
5. An increase in the duration of the role of student and the growing necessity to go to college have also been associated with a change in students' self-perception from one of individuals preparing themselves for citizenship and adulthood, to one of full citizenship and adulthood.

Chapter III demonstrated that a larger proportion of students occupy their role for a longer time now than ever before. The upward trend started before the war; after the war the GI Bill created a great increase in the graduate population, but the trend continued to rise even after the veterans left the campus, and especially after the late fifties. It was also shown that since the end of the Second World War more people--both parents and children--perceived that higher education was important for success in life; here too there was an accentuation of the trend during the late fifties.



NOTE: This figure is based on Tables 8 and 18, and on Figure 2.

Figure 4. Wisconsin: Percentage of income from federal sources, percentage of out-of-state students, and number of conflicts, 1930-1968.



NOTE: This figure is based on Tables 7, 19, and 20, and on Figure 2.

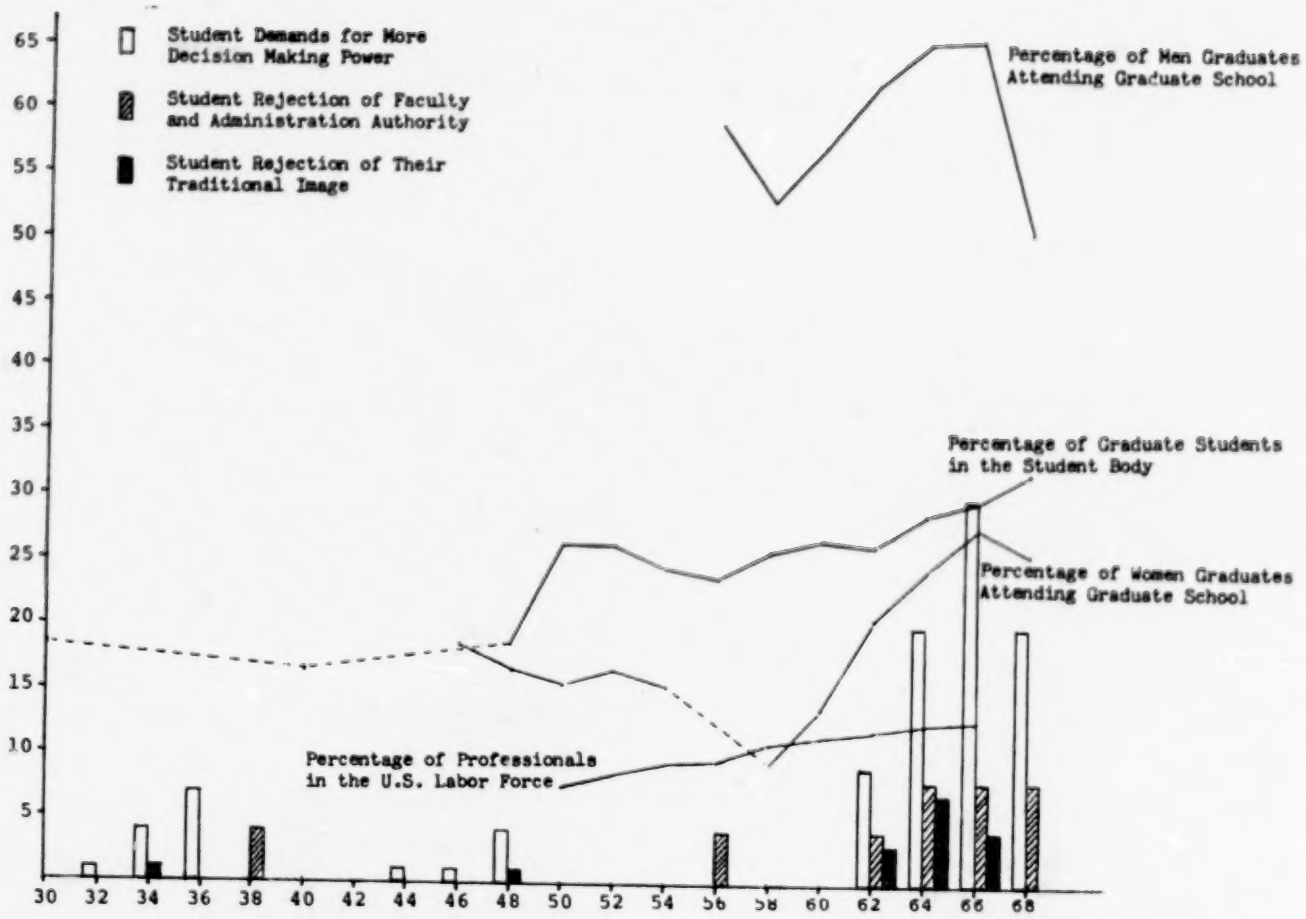
Figure 5. Harvard: Percentage of income from federal sources, percentage of out-of-state students, and number of conflicts, 1930-1968.

The attitudinal changes--demands for more decision making power on the part of students, rejection of the authority of faculty and administration over student affairs, and rejection of the traditional image of the student as a citizen on the way--took place, as was seen in Chapter III, in the sixties, or, more precisely, in the middle and late sixties. While expressions of the above attitudes were found in previous years, their frequency and concentration, as well as the degree of decision making demanded--were much higher in the sixties.

The pattern of relationships between the independent and dependent variables here is similar to that in Hypotheses 1 and 3. While the changes in the duration of the student role and in the necessity to go to college took place throughout the post-war period--accentuated during the late fifties--the change in attitudes became apparent only in the middle sixties. In other words, here again there was a lag of more than a decade between the start of the change in the independent variables and that in the dependent ones. Moreover, the changes in the attitudes were not gradual, occurring over a long period of time, but rather abrupt (see Figures 6 and 7 for a graphic representation of this relationship based on selected indicators).

Hypothesis 6 stated that:

> 6. An increase in students' feelings of their right to a voice in university and off university decisions, and the change in their self-perception with regards to citizenship and adulthood, have been associated with an increase in their political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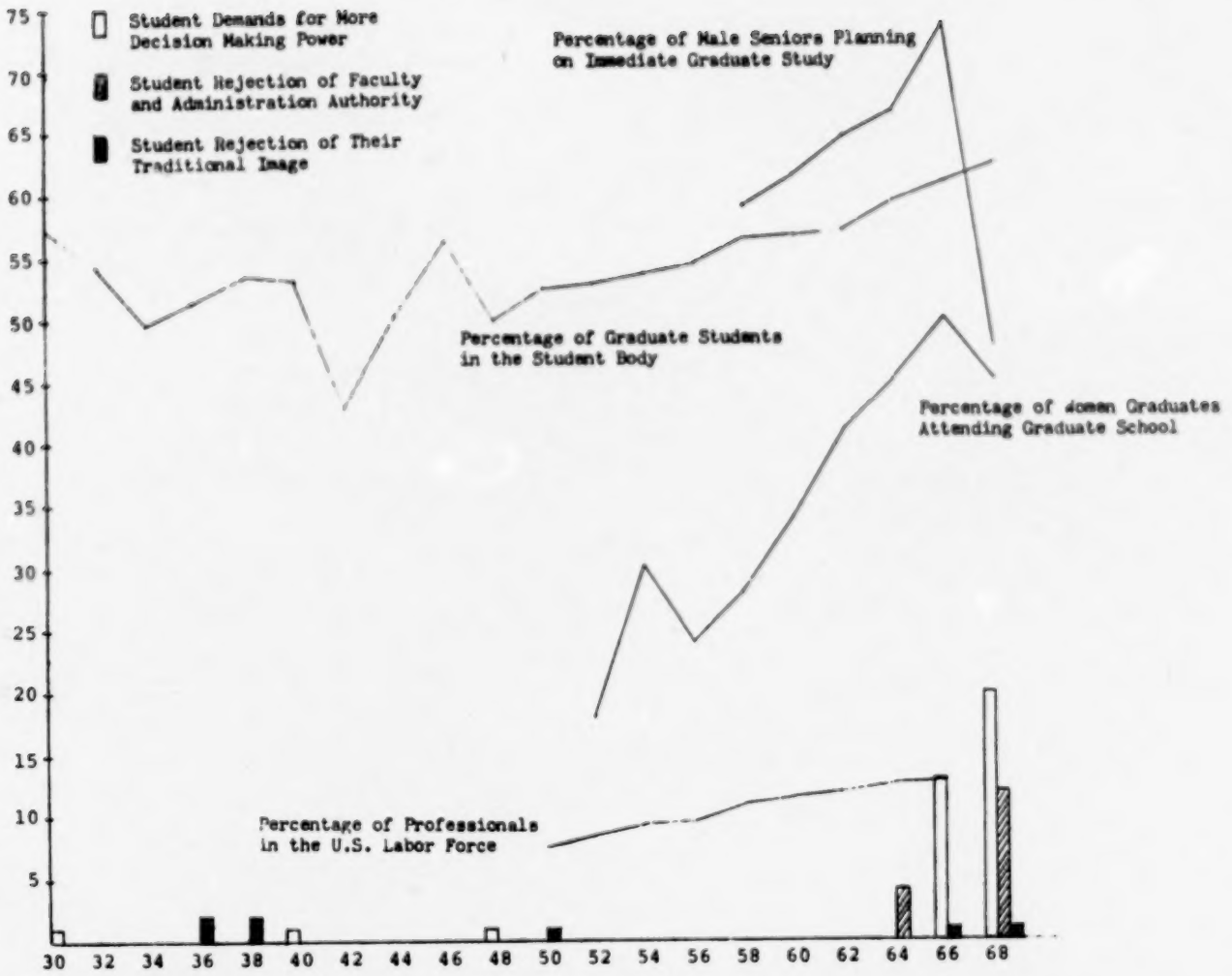
Student Demands for More Decision Making Power
Student Rejection of Faculty and Administration Authority
Student Rejection of Their Traditional Image
Percentage of Men Graduates Attending Graduate School
Percentage of Graduate Students in the Student Body
Percentage of Women Graduates Attending Graduate School
Percentage of Professionals in the U.S. Labor Force

NOTE: This figure is based, partially, on Tables 16, 25, 26, and 30. See Appendix B for construction of attitude scales.

Figure 6. Wisconsin: Percentage of men and women graduates attending graduate school, percentage of graduate students in student body, percentage of professional and technical occupations in the United States labor force, student demands for more decision making power, student rejection of faculty and administration authority, and student rejection of their traditional image, 1930-1968.



NOTE: This figure is based, partially, on Tables 17, 23, 24, 26, and 30. See Appendix B for construction of attitude scales.

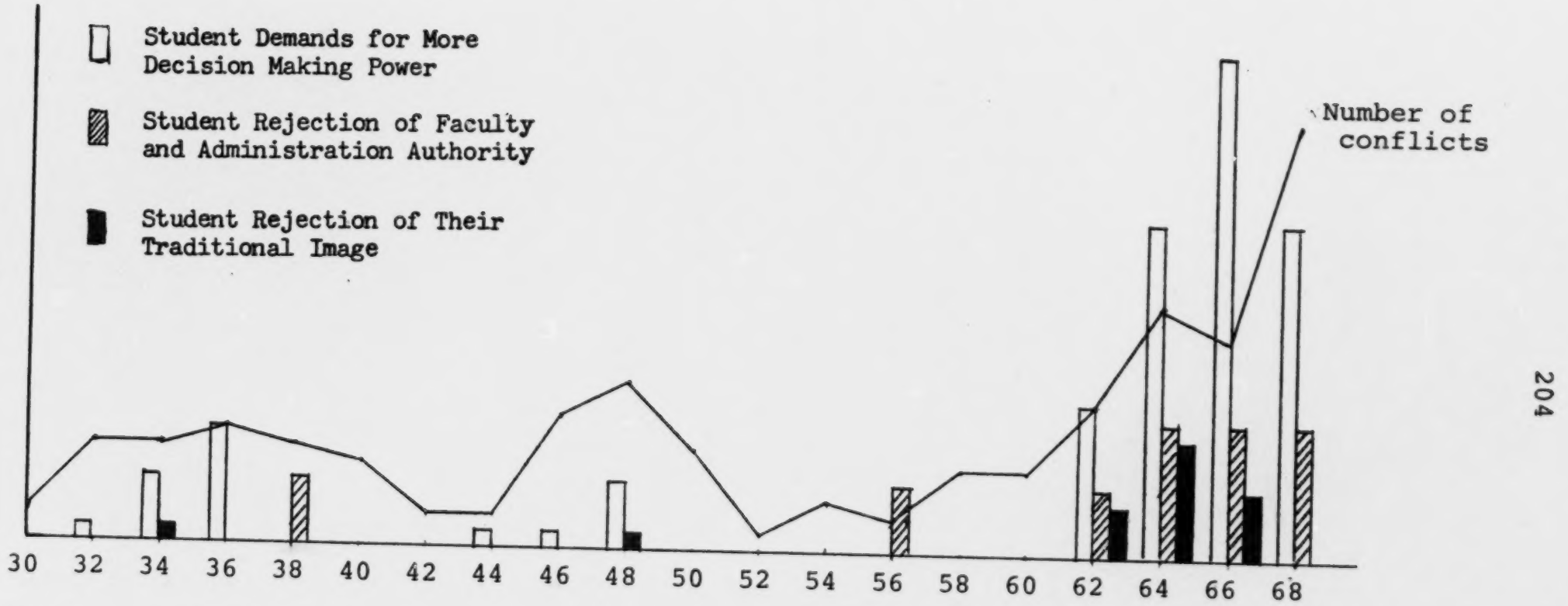
Figure 7. Harvard: Percentage of male seniors planning on immediate graduate study, percentage of women graduates attending graduate school, percentage of graduate students in the student body, percentage of professional and technical occupations in the United States labor force, student demands for more decision making power, student rejection of faculty and administration authority, and student rejection of their traditional image: 1930-1968.

activity, as defined by the number of conflicts, the number of participants in those conflicts, and the means used by the students during the conflicts.

Data on all the above variables were presented in Chapter IV. In the sixties it was seen that students voiced new expectations with regard to their decision making power, as well as rejection of their traditional image. Also shown was an unprecedented wave of student political activity. Theoretically, attitudinal changes were expected to come first, followed by an increase in political activity. Empirically, though, it was found that the increases in the two came at the same time. They reinforced each other: given attitudes were evoked during a conflict; these attitudes led to more obdurance on the part of the students, or to a stronger reaction to future actions of the other members of their role set or an outside group--in other words, to new conflicts. In these conflicts the new attitudes were expressed more forcefully, which in turn led to more activity. The data presented in Chapter IV did not show this process of mutual reinforcement, since they were based on the study of individual conflicts--and did not point out the linkages between conflicts. But the process can be perceived from a reading of both the Crimson and the Cardinal (see Figures 8 and 9 for a graphic representation of this relationship).

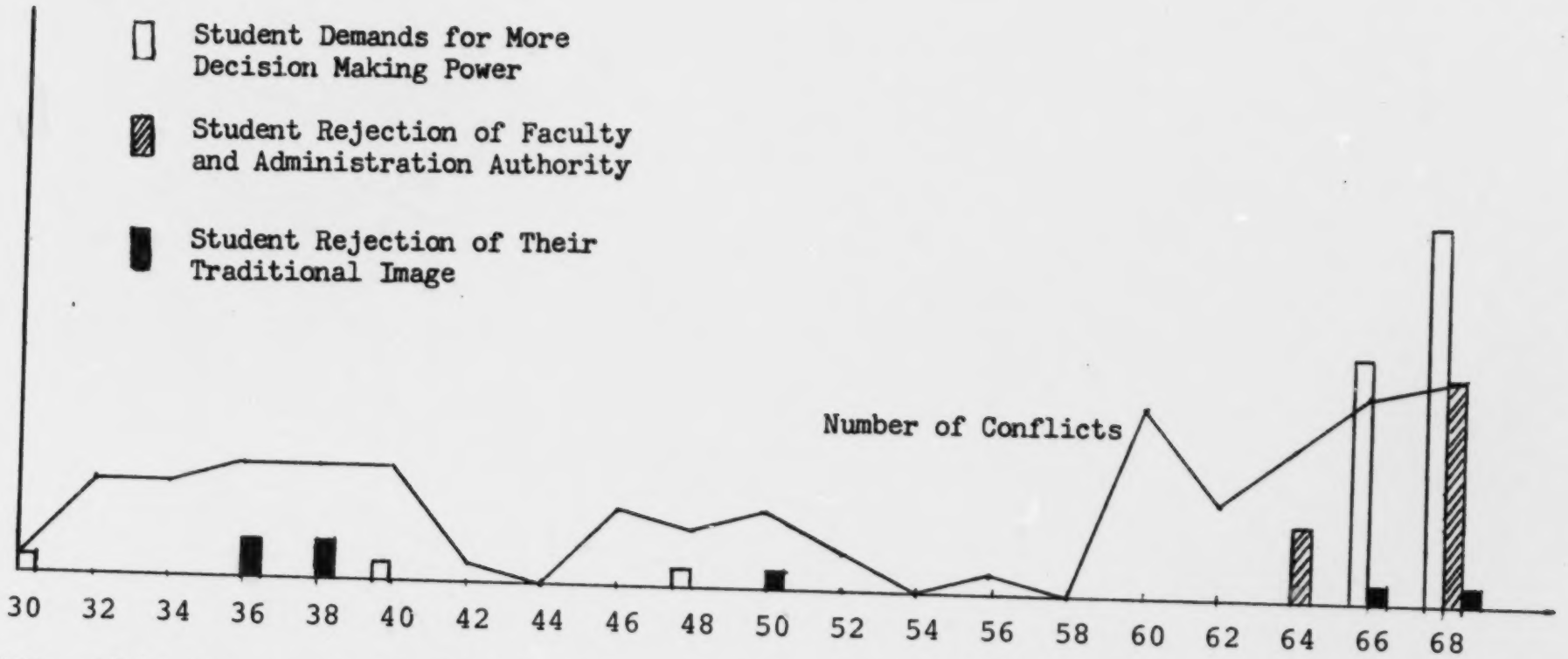
According to Hypotheses 2 and 7,

2. An increase in the student population, both in absolute numbers and as a proportion of the


Student Demands for More Decision Making Power
Student Rejection of Faculty and Administration Authority
Student Rejection of Their Traditional Image
Number of conflicts
30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62 64 66 68

NOTE: This figure is based, in part, on Table 30 and on Figure 2. See Appendix B for construction of attitude scales.

Figure 8. Wisconsin: Student demands for more decision making power, student rejection of faculty and administration authority, student rejection of their traditional image, and number of conflicts, 1930-1968.


Student Demands for More Decision Making Power
Student Rejection of Faculty and Administration Authority
Student Rejection of Their Traditional Image
Number of Conflicts
30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62 64 66 68

NOTE: This figure is based, in part, on Table 30, and on Figure 2. See Appendix B for construction of attitude scales.

Figure 9. Harvard: Student demands for more decision making power, student rejection of faculty and administration authority, student rejection of their traditional image, and number of conflicts, 1930-1968.

relevant age group, has been associated with an increase in the "class consciousness" of students.

7. An increase in political activity of students has been associated with an increase in the "class consciousness" of students.

Chapter II presented data on the changes in the number of students and in their proportion of the total college-age population. In general, there were small increases during the thirties, a great increase--due to the presence of veterans--after the war, and a steady and persistent growth since the early fifties. The general patterns were the same for both Harvard and Wisconsin, although the post-war growth was less spectacular at Harvard, a private university, than at Wisconsin, a public one.

As for class consciousness, Chapter III showed that expressions with respect to both the commonality of problems to all students and the power potential of students were found more frequently in the sixties than in the thirties, at Wisconsin, while at Harvard the two were found only in the sixties. In general, class consciousness was found more frequently at Wisconsin.

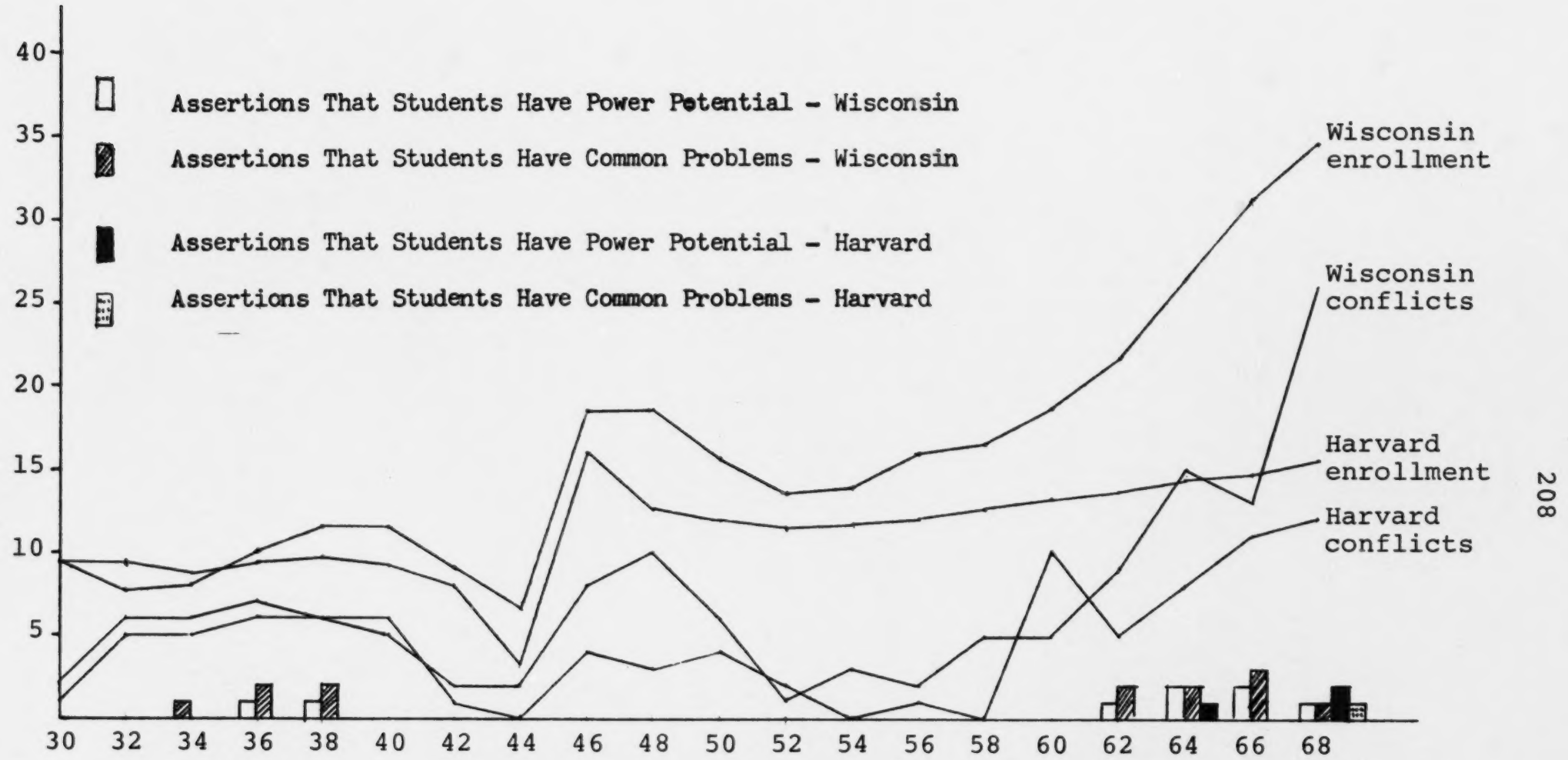
Thus expressions of class consciousness were highest in a period of high political activity and at a time when the student population at both schools had greatly increased. But a concentration of such expressions was also found in another period of political activity--the thirties--when the student population was not very large

(see a graphic representation of this relationship in Figure 10).

Expressions of class consciousness would be expected in any period of increased political activity, at least in so far as power potential is concerned, for every active group will express some confidence in its ability to influence policies and decisions. The situation with respect to assertions of common problems, though, is different, since these are related to an increasing awareness of problems of students as a group. Thus, the number of assertions of commonality of problems was significantly higher in the sixties, while assertions of power potential were found in concentrations in both the thirties and the sixties. The total number of expressions involved, though, was rather small, and the above statement should be considered with care.

General Pattern of Relationships

The nature of the data presented in Chapters III and IV--the lack of good longitudinal series for some of the changes within the university role set, and the "soft" nature of the data on the changes in student attitudes and in the patterns of their political activity--do not permit the exact statistical measurement of the relationships stated in the above hypotheses, nor the testing of various alternative models that would specify the relationships between all the variables considered here. What can be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Assertions That Students Have Power Potential - Wisconsin
Assertions That Students Have Common Problems - Wisconsin
Assertions That Students Have Power Potential - Harvard
Assertions That Students Have Common Problems - Harvard
Wisconsin enrollment
Wisconsin conflicts
Harvard enrollment
Harvard conflicts
30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62 64 66 68

NOTE: This figure is based, partially, on Tables 15, 17, and 30, and on Figure 2. See Appendix B for construction of attitude scales.

Figure 10. Wisconsin and Harvard: Enrollment, number of conflicts, and expressions of class consciousness.

done is to suggest a plausible model on the basis of the theoretical approach presented in Chapter I and the empirical findings presented in Chapters III and IV, in the hope that it will aid in understanding these relationships (see Figure 11).

The general nature of the development of the student movement of the sixties is quite clear. If the variables considered in Chapters III, IV, and V are put into two groups, and the first (university involvement in national decisions, size of the student body, composition of the student body, duration of the role of student and necessity to go to college) are called the "structural variables" and the second (number of conflicts, types of issues involved in the conflicts, means used, as well as assertion of decision making rights, rejection of traditional authorities, rejection of traditional image of students and "class consciousness"), "political attitudes and activity," it can be stated that gradual structural changes that started in the late forties and were accentuated in the late fifties preceded abrupt changes in student political attitudes and activity in the early sixties, which accentuated during the middle and late sixties.

The Time-Lag and the Precipitating Factors

Between the start of the changes in the structural variables--the late forties--and the start of the changes in political attitudes and activity of students--the early

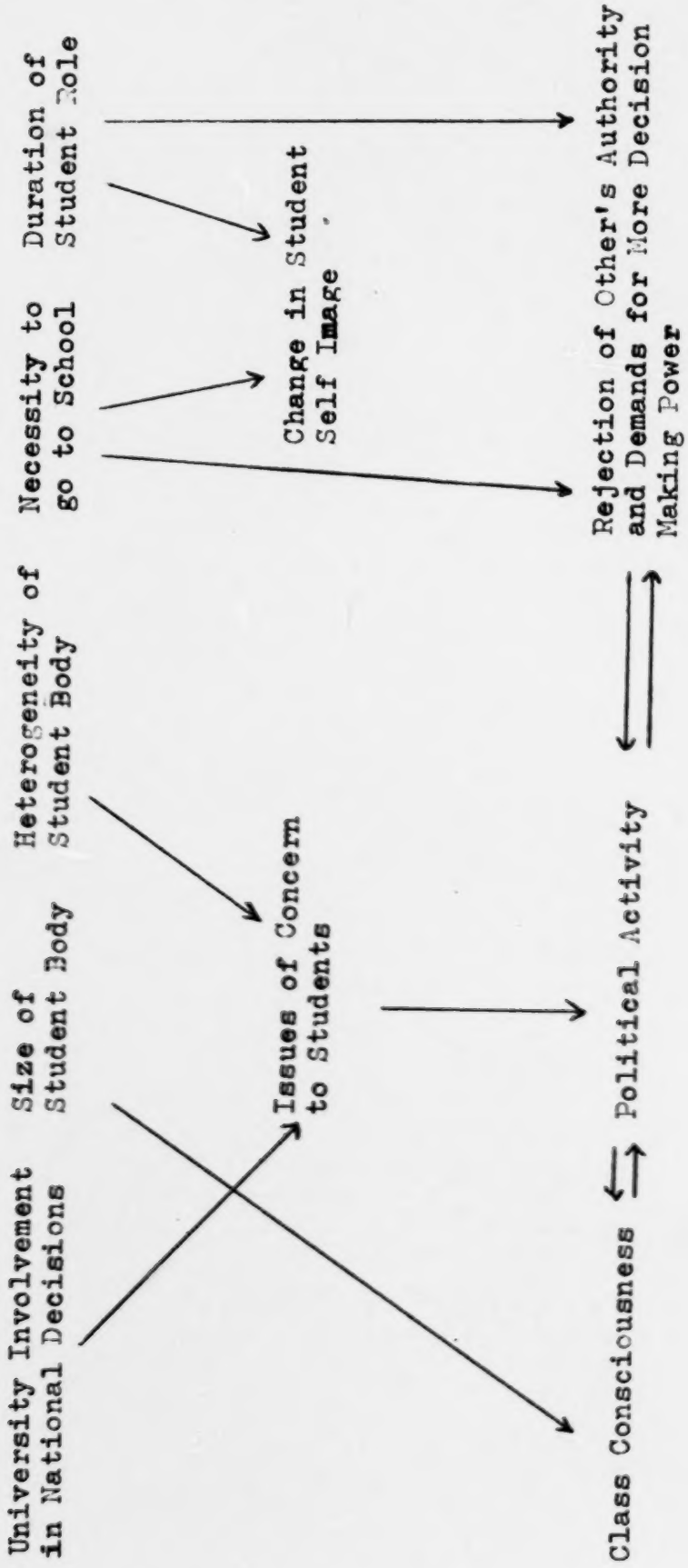
Necessity to go to School
Duration of Student Role
Change in Student Self Image
Rejection of Other's Authority and Demands for More Decision Making Power
University Involvement in National Decisions
Size of Student Body
Heterogeneity of Student Body
Issues of Concern to Students
Class Consciousness
Political Activity

Figure 11. Relations between the varia

sixties--some ten to twelve years passed. This is the time-lag between the beginning of changes in the independent variables and the start of changes in the dependent variables. However, in seeking to explain this lag, instead of looking at the start of the changes in the structural variables, one could look for a point in time when a given threshold point was reached by these variables; for example, the point in time when the student population reached the three million mark, or the point in time when more than 50% of the universities' research expenditures were financed by the federal government. In that case, the relevant time lag would be that between the passage of the threshold point by the structural variables, and the start of the change in students' political attitudes and activity.

However, in order to specify a time-lag it is necessary to know not only the starting point--the start of the changes in the structural variables, or the passage of a given threshold by them--but also that point at which the changes in the dependent variables can be detected. From the theory it could be anticipated that this point would be the time when a change in the expectations of students with regard to their position as a group within their role set was detected; and as stated at the beginning of this chapter, those expectations were expected to slowly and gradually rise parallel to the changes in the structural variables. Increased activity was expected only later. However, changes in attitudes and changes in patterns of

activity came at the same time, and were mutually reinforcing. This should not really be surprising: political attitudes are evoked by empirical events. Thus, the Free Speech Movement came in reaction to a denial of free speech, and not as a spontaneous realization on the part of certain students that they wanted given rights. The events that signal the start of a political movement, by evoking the changed expectations and the changes in the patterns of political activity, are called in the literature "precipitating factors" (see, for example, Smelser, 1962, p. 16). In other words, the precipitating factors make the connection between the structural variables and the political attitudes and activity.

Now, precipitating factors are difficult, if not impossible, to predict. In the case of the present study, they came in the early sixties, but they could also have appeared in the middle sixties, or in the late fifties. Moreover, "precipitating factors" are not inherently different from other events: the assassination of a political figure may trigger a total revolt, but it may also result in the hanging of the assassin and continued stability. What makes such an event a precipitating factor is its timing: at one point in time it may precipitate a movement, while at a different point in time it may not.

Thus, the end-point in the time-lag is determined by the timing of the precipitating factor. It appears that the notion of threshold may be more important for the

appearance of changed expectations and political activity than the starting point of a change in the structural variables. Apparently there is a point beyond which the probability that certain events will precipitate a political movement becomes very high, while had they come earlier the probability of such a movement arising would have been low. In the present study, there were events during the fifties--the hearings of a Senate investigatory committee, the harassment of student radical groups, the Korean War,--that might have precipitated a student movement had they come later but which in their time did not even encounter a resolute opposition. The nature of the threshold, though, cannot be suggested on the basis of one case study: more studies of more movements are needed in order to specify its character.

What were the factors which precipitated the student movement of the sixties? Several events during the early sixties served as precipitants: the sit-ins of black students in the South; the changing political atmosphere with the election of John F. Kennedy to the presidency, and his appeal to the young; the Cuban intervention; disarmament conferences; negative university reaction to some student political activity--such as that which caused the Berkeley Free Speech Movement; and finally, the Vietnam War. More could probably be cited; a few of these could be disputed; furthermore, it would be difficult to say which one was the most important, though many observers

give the civil rights issue the first place. What is important to note is that with the exception of the Free Speech Movement, all the factors mentioned involved off campus issues. It is indeed difficult to imagine on campus issues serving as precipitating factors: the off campus issues were ones of national impact, they activated organizations of national proportions, and they could affect many campuses at the same time. On campus issues are generally of a local nature, rarely attract national attention, and rarely lead to the creation of national organizations. Thus, "student power" issues and demands came late in the sixties, after the appearance of off campus issues, and these reached national proportions both because of connections created between students during the off campus issues and because of similar problems created by student activity on off campus issues on many campuses.

In other words, the connection between the structural changes and the changes in students' political attitudes and activity was not determined by anything that the students initiated, but rather by events outside their direct sphere of interest: the struggle of blacks, the election of a new President, intervention of that President in a foreign country, nuclear tests conducted by two world powers, and, finally, a military intervention on a distant continent. This is not very surprising, since other political movements have also been stimulated by

general political, military, economic or social circumstances (see Smelser, 1962, pp. 352-353).

To briefly review the process of development of the student movement in the sixties: First of all, there were some developments outside the university role set, namely, the increasing sophistication of the United States industrial system, its increased demand for highly trained manpower, and the international military, political and scientific competition between the United States and the Soviet Union, following the Second World War. These developments led to an increasing involvement of the university in national decisions, as well as to the expansion of the student body, to an increasing heterogeneity of the student body, increasing feelings on the part of parents and youth that higher education was a necessity, and to an increase in the proportion of students staying in the student role for longer periods of time than ever before. These internal, structural changes began in the late forties, and continued throughout the fifties and sixties. When they began, students were politically inactive and expressed no dissatisfaction with their position within the university role set.

In the early sixties, a series of events took place that precipitated a student movement. The events--the election of Kennedy, the investigations of HUAC, civil rights campaigns, the war in Vietnam--took place mostly outside the university, but attracted some student

involvement. When students attempted to act on those issues within the university they met opposition and restrictions. In contrast to the past, the student activists did not accept these restrictions, but instead asserted new expectations with regards to their rights within the university role set. The escalation of the war in Vietnam led to more student activity, more opposition to student activity by some faculty and administration, and to a greater assertion by students of their rights. Before long, the university was identified by students as an ally of the groups they were opposing outside the university. Finally, the identification of the administration and some faculty as allies of the opponents outside the role set led to the greatest wave of activity, as well as to the highest expressions of new expectations on the part of students regarding their position within the university decision making structure (see Figure 12 for a graphic representation of this process).

Student Activity in the Sixties as a Political Movement

At this point I would like to differentiate between the two periods of high political activity on American campuses--the thirties and the sixties--on the basis of the definition of a political movement provided in Chapter I. A student movement was defined as a group of students who, as a group, are outside the decision making structure within their role set or occupy a low position in it, who

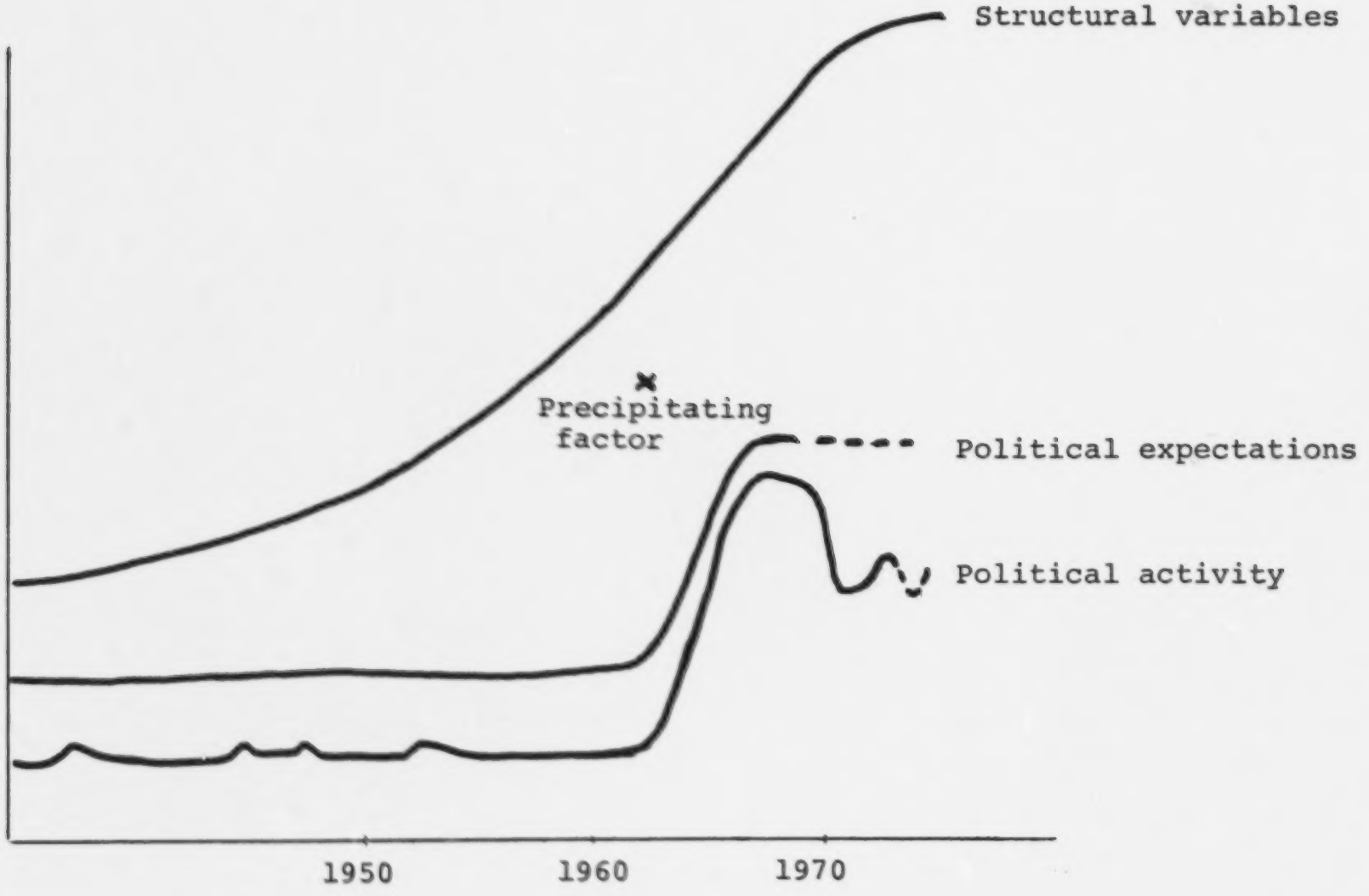

Figure 12. Simplified representation of relationships between changes in structural variables and changes in political expectations and activity as found empirically.

try to influence the making of one or several decisions, or try to become a part--prominent or exclusive--of the decision making structure themselves.

What is called the "student movement" of the thirties can be credited mainly to the activity of several organizations that were affiliated with adult political parties, and largely followed their policies. There was one overriding issue--the peace issue. No connections were made between the broad off campus political issues and the university. Campus issues were less common and almost never involved a questioning of distribution of decision making power within the university role set. Students did not act out of any common interest as students: the "movement" of that time was a campus reflection of the struggles of the outside world.

In the sixties, on the other hand, independent student organizations were created whose connections with adult political organizations, where they existed, had the nature of alliances rather than formal affiliation. There were several central issues--Vietnam, civil rights--but there was also a great variety of other issues. There were important campus issues, often involving the distribution of power within the university. Even on off campus issues, students demanded increased power in the university role set. The movement of the sixties was not an appendix of some adult movement or activity; the campus was the center of political activity; students took the initiative

--on the campus, in the local college communities, and on the national scene. Much of the political activity of the sixties was carried out by students acting as students--as a group with common interests.

The difference between the two periods of political activity can also be seen through changes introduced by the activity. During the thirties, student political activity had few lasting effects. In the sixties, on the other hand, numerous structural and policy changes were brought about by the student movement: the formation of syndicalist groups, mainly among graduate students; a larger participation by students in many aspects of university decision making; great changes in the in loco parentis policies; curriculum changes; and, more important, an awareness on the part of faculty and administration that any major policy decisions in the future would have to involve consultation with students. Off-shoots of the student movement developed outside the campus--"free universities," student communes, radical slates in many college communities, and student involvement in local issues. Finally, such events as the passage of the 18-year-old vote, the McCarthy campaign, the decision of President Johnson not to run, or the changing public attitude towards the Vietnam war can at least partially be explained by the student movement of the sixties.

The above changes and accomplishments become important when dealing with the question, "What about the

future of the movement?" Writing in the early spring of 1971, after the first academic year without any major wave of student political activity throughout the country, it is relevant to ask whether the student movement of the sixties will fade away as the activity of the thirties did, bringing about another period of political apathy on the part of students. It has been argued that the movement of the sixties will end with the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. This is a prediction based on an interpretation of the movement in terms of precipitating factors. But the data presented in this study do not support such a prediction. The expectations of students with regard to their position as a group within the decision making structure of their role set have changed--and an immediate reversal to previous levels of expectation is unlikely. The self-image of students has changed--and here again one would not expect a reversal to the old image.* The achievements are there--and cannot be taken away--at least not in the short

*Student populations change every few years, and it could be argued that new generations of students will not share the newly acquired expectations of those who participated in the movement. Yet, while the turnover of students may have a weakening affect on the role group's expectations, it should be remembered that, firstly, the new students are socialized into their roles to a large degree by older students, and thus have a high chance of "inheriting" the new expectations, and secondly, that events on the campuses have in many cases spilled over to the high schools. High school seniors coming to colleges now are--even before coming into contact with older students--different from the high school seniors who came to college in the early sixties.

run. Some groups of students now have their own organizations, which will defend their interests; students also occupy diverse new positions within the university decision making structure.

Aside from all these considerations, one further point should be made in this connection, a point of theoretical relevance, although it was not dealt with in the theory chapter. Though the various ideological positions of different student political organizations cannot be summarized into one set of goals, some statements can be made about their general intention: the student movement was not a revolutionary movement--within the boundaries of the role set--in that it did not seek an overthrow of the faculty or the administrators in favor of a regime run by students. Neither was it an independence movement in the sense that it sought to create a community that would sever all connections with the other members of the role set. It was, instead, a movement that sought to influence certain decisions within and outside the role set, as well as to change the decision making structure of the role set so as to give students a larger role than they had before.

In this connection an illustration can be offered from socialist strategy--the differentiation between revolutionary party strategy and labor union strategy. The first led, in a few countries, to a clear-cut revolution. The second, which did not strive for an immediate revolution, resulted in one or more periods of intense activity

connected with the establishment of the unions and their recognition, followed by periods of quiet and then sporadic activity again, when the unions or their goals were threatened. As a result, management does not have to fear its overthrow, but it has to take into account the power of labor in many of its decisions. Furthermore, labor is a group with considerable influence outside its role set as well as within it.

The student movement is in some ways similar to the labor movement. Most important in this connection is the fact that its goal was not to overthrow the other members of its role set, but rather to be recognized by them and to obtain from them a larger share of decision making power. Viewed in this way, the relative quiet of 1971 does not mean the end of a student movement following the failure of revolution. The achievements of the movement are there, as pointed out earlier. Furthermore, and most important, students are not now the same political animal that they were before the sixties, much in the same way that workers were not the same political animal after unionization. Sporadic student activity can be expected--as a response to a given outside precipitant, when attempts are made by other members of the role set to ignore student rights, or when students themselves attempt to strengthen their position.

Selection of Time Period for Study

An important question could be asked with respect to the selection of the historical period for the study of the development of the student movement: Why forty years? And what kind of conclusions would one get if he did a similar study for the forty years preceding 1930? In a more general sense, the question would be: How does one know what period to select for the study of a movement?

Starting with the last question first, the length of time selected will depend on the information available as to when the processes that are assumed to have influenced the intra-role-set relationships started, as well as on the availability of data. In this study, there was evidence that the structural changes that I was interested in, though they started before the Second World War, were most pronounced after the war. The year 1930 was selected as the starting date because I wanted to contrast the political activity of students during the thirties with that of the sixties. What would the conclusions have been had I selected 1890 instead of 1930?

The period following the Civil War was the period of establishment of universities across the country, the establishment of graduate schools, and the formation of much of the structure of the universities as they are known today. It was the period of the flowering of the university movement, as Rudolph has called it, in contrast to the previous

college system (see Rudolph, 1962, Chapter 16). Thus, in the period preceding 1930 higher education grew--in numbers of faculty, students and graduate students (see Table 10, Chapter II, for numbers of students). However, this was a growth that accompanied the establishment of a new institution, and thus it would be misleading to look at rates of growth during this period. Moreover, as was seen in Chapter II, by 1930 higher education encompassed less than 10% of the 18-24 age group, and only 4.3% of the students were graduates. Jobs requiring higher education comprised a small part of the occupational structure, and the relations between the universities and the federal government were minimal. The only development that seems to be related to student political activity was the admission of larger numbers of sons of immigrants--especially Jewish--in some eastern and mid-western colleges. Those students appear to have played an important role as a link between socialist and communist adult organizations and the campuses. City College, Brooklyn College and Hunter in New York, for example, all with high percentages of Jewish students, were the scene of the strongest student political activity during the thirties (see Wechsler, 1935, pp. 179-180; and Draper, 1967, p. 171).

This cursory review of the pre-1930 period does not alter the conclusions of the study; higher education was still for a small, elite group; the role for almost all students lasted not more than four years; the role was not

as central for success in life, and academia as a whole was largely isolated from national decisions. Thus the political activity of students during the thirties did not develop into a student movement as defined in this study.

The Theory, The Empirical Findings, and Some Questions Raised by the Two

In the theoretical chapter, four stages in the development of a political movement were specified: first, external changes occurring outside the role set, such as industrialization or commercialization; second, changes in the intra-role set relationships brought about by the external changes, such as the increase in power of one role group, or a change in its composition; third, a change in the expectations of the members of one role group with respect to the position of their group within the decision making structure of the role set; and finally, the formation of a political movement, striving to change the distribution of power within the role set.

The empirical study whose findings have been presented in the previous chapters focused in the main on only two of the stages: the second one, i.e., changes in the intra-role set relationships, and the third one, changes in expectations. The first stage, external changes, was taken for granted: the increasing sophistication of United States industry and the change in the international role of the United States are well-known developments. As for changes in role set relationships, the following changes were

measured: (1) changes in the power of students (increasing prominence of the university role set as a whole, resulting in an implied increase in the power of students both inside and outside the university, as well as the increase in the student population); (2) changes in the composition of the student role group (increasing heterogeneity of the student body); and (3) increase in the centrality of the role of student (increasing necessity to attend college, and increasing duration of the role of student). No data were gathered on changes in the pattern of interaction of the student role group with groups outside the role set, although it seems that this may have been a factor of importance in the early sixties, when many of the future leaders of the student movement participated in or came into contact with the civil rights movement.

It should be pointed out that the selection of the above indicators for changes in intra-role set relationships was determined mainly by a practical consideration: the availability of data. Even so, the nature of the data was in some cases far from satisfactory, especially with respect to the measurement of changes in the composition of the student role group and the increase in the centrality of the role of student to its occupants. This problem will probably be encountered in any longitudinal study of political movements.

The other stage that was studied here was the third one, the changes in the expectations of students with respect

to their position within the decision making structure of their role set. Three main indicators of changes in expectations were specified: rejection of the traditional authority of other groups within the role set; rejection of the traditional image of students; and finally, a demand by students for more authority over their own lives as well as a demand for larger participation in the decisions affecting the role set as a whole. These indicators were not specified in the theory, but they could be added to it, since they appear to be logically applicable to all movements striving for political change.

One more subject was studied: the changes in the patterns of activity of students. Those changes were important for two reasons: first, political activity is in itself a partial indicator of expectations held by members of a group; and secondly, it would have been very difficult to understand the changes in expectations unless they were put in a historical context. It should be pointed out, though, that the study of the changes in the pattern of political activity of students in no way constitutes a study of the fourth stage specified in the theory, namely, the formation of a political movement. In the first place, some of the preconditions for the formation of a movement were not measured: the clarity of identifiability of the opponent, the existence of alternative rewards, and the availability of alternative channels of decision making. Changes in class consciousness were measured, since this

variable was found in the content analysis along with the other attitudes. Secondly, activity is only one of the manifestations of a political movement: the study did not examine the organization of the movement, its leadership, lines of communication, etc. Thus, much more work is needed on the last stage, and especially on the relationship between patterns of changes in the first three stages and the actual form and content of the resultant political movement.

It should be pointed out that one of the major findings of this study was that empirically it is difficult to separate the third and fourth stages: changes in attitudes and changes in activity appeared at the same time. Confirmation of this finding in other studies may lead to a revision in the theory.

In short, what was studied here was the relationship between changes in the objective relationships between one role group, that of students, and the other members of the university role set, to changes in the expectations of students with respect to their position within the university decision making structure. As such, this study should be considered only as a first step towards testing hypotheses derivable from the theoretical framework presented in Chapter I.

As a first attempt, this study raises as many questions as it answers. These questions can be divided into

two main groups: those questions that arise from the theory itself, and those that arise from the empirical findings.

As to the questions arising out of the theory, two will be mentioned here. First, the theory assumes a certain time lag between the structural changes and the attitudinal changes: the empirical study suggests that the time lag in the case of the American student movement in the sixties was about one decade. However, it is entirely possible that in other movements the time lag will be different. A serious problem of interpretation can arise in a case where the time lag is very long, say more than one generation. In such a case it will be difficult to attribute the attitudinal changes to the structural ones. It may be necessary then to incorporate additional explanatory factors in the theory, such as, for example, the effect of a repressive regime that stifles a rising discontent for some time. In the main, though, this question will have to be answered empirically, i.e., on the basis of the study of more movements.

A second problem that is not answered in the theory and is suggested by the empirical study is of great importance: how the attitudinal changes take place on the individual level. In a sense, this is the final step in the explanation of the rise of a movement for political change: in the preceding chapters it was shown how broad changes in a given society affect specific role groups and role sets within it. The question is how changes within a role group affect, or are reflected, in the individual members

of the group. Neither the theory nor the data suggest an answer to this question, since neither was conceived in that direction. All one can do is to suggest the direction that has to be taken in order to answer the question. The answer will be found not in massive surveys of representative samples of members of given role groups, but rather in in-depth interviews of members of the active minority within a given movement, such as the study conducted by Kenneth Keniston (see Keniston, 1968). Such studies, though, will have to be guided by questions derived from the theory presented here, and not by the type of questions that interested Keniston, namely, the process by which certain youngsters became radical-activists as opposed to alienated non-activists. The problem, of course, will be to differentiate between those individuals who came to the "right" conclusions about the position of their role group within the role set on their own, and those who acquired their explanations, or ideology, from others. Another question will be whether a given ideological line, or explanation, is accepted by the majority of the activists in a movement because it corresponds to the objective reality of the situation of the role group, or because of the skills of the original proponents of that line. Answering these questions will be extremely difficult if for no other reason than the fact that the ideologies of political movements are never clear-cut or expressed in one form accepted by all.

As for problems that arise out of the empirical findings, two will be discussed. First, the nature of the data, and especially the lack of yearly statistics on many of the structural variables as well as the attitudinal variables, did not allow the application of rigorous statistical methods such as those developed by econometricians for the analysis of time series and the relationships between the variables over time. It should be pointed out that this problem may be found in the study of most political movements, if the period for study is a long one: statistics gathering by most governments and private agencies are both relatively new, and, more important, problem oriented. Available statistics may not be relevant from a theoretical point of view, and statistics that interest the theorist may not interest the administrator. As for statistical analysis of attitudinal time series, the attitudes in this study were not found in abundance. If statistical rigor is desired, it may be necessary to expand the content analysis: for example, in this case, the study of ten or fifteen universities might have provided sufficient quantities of attitudes.

A second problem is how to determine what amount of change in the structural variables is necessary for attitudinal changes to take place. With the data presented here, relating as they do to only one movement, these questions cannot even begin to be answered. What is needed is data

from comparative studies of movements, especially studies of movements that are similar in many important respects.

In short, this study has to be regarded as only a first step towards the testing of the theory presented in the first chapter. The theory can be put to a rigorous test only by more--and comparative--studies of various political movements. Such studies should also provide the basis for additions and revisions to the theory, which is in itself, of course, only a partial, tentative explanation of the development of political movements.

Alternative Explanations

This brief section will review some of the explanations of the American student movement in the sixties and compare them with the explanation offered in the present study. The choice of alternative explanations is difficult, because of the great number and variety of hypotheses offered in the literature; as Frank Pinner has pointed out, the field suffers not from a dearth of propositions, but rather from propositional hypertrophy (Pinner, 1971, p. 128). Thus, the present review will touch upon the ones that are deemed the most important, but will not attempt to be comprehensive.

The empirical research that has been conducted on the student movement of the sixties does not offer much in the way of alternatives to the explanation offered here, because these studies do not approach the problem from a

developmental point of view. They can be divided into three main bodies, according to their main areas of concern. By far the most numerous research efforts have been directed toward differentiating between activists and their non-activist counterparts as regards background characteristics [such as political attitudes of parents, child-rearing practices of parents, socio-economic status, area of study, intelligence, academic performance] (see Flacks, 1967; Keniston, 1968; Solomon and Fishman, 1964; Paulus, 1967; Lyonns, 1965; Watts and Whittaker, 1966; Westby and Braungart, 1966; Heist, 1965; Trent and Craise, 1967; Somers, 1965), personality characteristics [such as flexibility, individualism, esthetic sensitivity] (see Watts, 1966; Flacks, 1967; Heist, 1965; Lyonns, 1965; Paulus, 1967; Trent, 1967), and attitudes [such as religious liberalism, academic orientation, and idealism] (see Keniston, 1968; Watts, 1966; Flacks, 1967; Trent, 1967; Lyonns, 1965; Heist, 1965; Paulus, 1967; Solomon, 1964).

A limited number of studies have attempted to relate institutional characteristics and types or frequency of student protests. These works have examined various types of colleges and universities from the standpoint of their structural characteristics, student bodies, or intellectual and/or human relational climates (see Sasajima, Davis & Peterson, 1968; Scott and El-Assal, 1969; Williamson & Cowan, 1966).

The third area of empirical research consists of identification of issues over which student protests have arisen. Richard Peterson has conducted studies at several points in time to identify the issues and trends (see Peterson, 1966 and 1968). While the Peterson studies are the only ones which have been directly concerned with the identification of issues, other studies have yielded data in this area.

In general, then, these studies look at the movement after it has come into existence; especially, who is active in it, where (in what institutions) it is strongest, and what its main issues are. Some of these studies, especially those that explain student activism in terms of institutional differences, are relevant to the present research. But, as seen in the previous chapters, though institutional differences between Harvard and Wisconsin do account for some variations in levels of activity and frequency of expressions of certain expectations, the general patterns of development of the student movement at both institutions are very similar. In short, the empirical literature produced in the last few years on the American student movement does not offer explanations that are really alternatives to the one offered in this study.*

Among nonempirical studies of student movements, a rather widespread explanation is that they arise because of

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*Although those studies do provide information that is complementary to the findings presented here, such as what types of students became active in the movement, in what types of schools, and so forth.

given characteristics that are said to be peculiar to young people, such as high idealism, altruism, and willingness to accept high risks (see Bakke, 1967, pp. 64-65). These explanations are weak on two accounts: in the first place, as Frank Pinner has pointed out, if these characteristics are truly peculiar to the young, then one should see high activism among all young people, and not only among students (see Pinner, 1971, p. 129). In the second place, even if it is found empirically that young people are more idealistic and altruistic than other groups in society, one still has to specify under what conditions these characteristics translate themselves into actual political activism; it is obvious that not every generation of youth is politically active in any given country.

A somewhat related explanation of student movements is the "conflict of generations" hypothesis. The most extreme exposition of this hypotheses is made by Lewis Feuer (see Feuer, 1969). Feuer starts by emphasizing characteristics that, according to him, are peculiar to students: altruism and idealism, as well as suicidalism and terrorism (see Feuer, 1969, p. 5). He proceeds to explain student movements in terms of emotional rebellion in which there is a disillusionment with and rejection of the values of the older generation (see Feuer, 1969, p. 11). With this conceptual framework Feuer explains all manifestations of student political activism through the ages. In addition to the problems presented by assigning students particular

characteristics that supposedly are present in them more than in other groups, Feuer's work does not explain why the "generational conflict" erupts in certain generations and not in others. Obviously, to answer this question, one has to look beyond the factor of generational conflict.

Robert Laufer makes an interesting attempt to overcome the weakness implied in the universality of the "generational conflict" hypothesis (which leads to its low explanatory power) by adding some variables that are supposed to explain its occurrence in the United States of the 1960's. First of all, he asserts that the historical circumstance that accounts for the peculiarity of the present generation is its being raised in a post-industrial society--which is historically unique (see Laufer, 1971, p. 85). A post-industrial society is characterized by a peculiar structural make-up, as well as by--among other things--peculiar socialization patterns which lead to a discrepancy in values between the old and the young (see Laufer, 1971, p. 85). Now, how does that explain the student movement? Why is there no general youth movement? Because, Laufer says, "The first group to experience fully the effects of post-industrial existence is the children of the middle class" (see Laufer, 1971, p. 82). Since college students are predominantly middle-class (see Laufer, 1971, p. 83), therefore, the generational conflict in this historical stage of post-industrial society finds its manifestation in a student movement.

There are several problems with Laufer's explanation: first, almost every period since the Renaissance could be--and has been--called unique. Moreover, looking beyond the United States, this decade has seen student movements in many countries, most of them not post-industrial. Secondly, there is very little cross-generational data on socialization patterns to show that the socialization of the present generation has been really so unique. Again, cross culturally, one could look at countries with similar socialization patterns and no great student activism.

Whatever the case, the "generational conflict" hypothesis is very weak: in Feuer's hands it provides a very simplistic and inadequate explanation of a variety of phenomena; Laufer's article has to recur to too many extraneous variables to make it applicable to the United States of the sixties, and his attempt looks very contrived. In general, it seems that the generational conflict hypothesis reflects a widespread prejudice towards students, based on their traditional image as immature and irresponsible. Somehow, since they are young and not full citizens, <u>their</u> movements must be a reflection of generational conflict, and not a movement like any other political movement. The theory is an extension of the prejudicial notion that students are not supposed to be active in politics. They should study, have fun, and prepare for "real life" later on. Hopefully, the present generation of students will do away with these prejudices, and the generational conflict hypothesis as well.

Another explanation of student movements that is of relevance here is the theory of marginal elites, proposed by Frank Pinner (see Pinner, 1971). Pinner starts by identifying students, military leaderships and certain clerical groups as marginal elites. As such, these groups share certain characteristics--they are producers of collective goods, they do not engage in direct exchange of goods or services with specific members of the community, they are often physically separated from the rest of the community, and they are given privileges and immunities (see Pinner, 1971, p. 131). The special position of marginal elites leads them to be particularly concerned with questions of the unity of the community and problems of authority. Their particular position as well as their peculiar concerns lead marginal elites to enter the political arena at times when their own position, or the integrity of their society, appears to be threatened. Students in particular tend to act in coalition with other groups, generally with other marginal elites, because they lack a "stock in trade" (see Pinner, 1971, pp. 136-137).

The theory of marginal elites specifies some of the conditions under which students--as a marginal elite--will enter into the political arena. As such, it is not an alternative explanation to the one presented in this study, but rather a complementary one. While the framework presented here specifies some of the general steps in the formation of a movement demanding political change, the

marginal elites theory specifies conditions under which the probability that particular role groups--such as students, the military, and the clergy--will enter politics is especially high. Evidence gathered in this study tends to support some of the hypotheses derived from the marginal elites theory, especially those relating to the patterns of coalition formation of student movements.

Another attempt to explain student movements ties their occurrence to a general crisis of weakening of authority (see Eisenstadt, 1971, p. 76) or a crisis of culture (see Mankoff and Flacks, 1971, p. 62) that characterizes modern societies, and especially those that are highly industrialized. The societies that emerged after the long process of industrialization, and especially after the Second World War, are seen as presenting new demands and new problems that traditional leaderships are not equipped to deal with. In the case of the United States, the exigencies of the cold war have put a heavy strain on a leadership that was required to do more than it was able to handle. Moreover, some clear-cut failures of the leadership, such as the war in Vietnam, made its authority non credible.

The main problem of this type of explanation is that it is very difficult to measure degrees of "crisis," in order to show that student movements, and other protest movements, really occur at periods of high levels of crisis, and not in others. The difficulty in proving that a given period in history is a period of crisis--in contrast with a

period of stability and continuity, leads in some cases to logical absurdities. Mankoff and Flacks, for example, assert that the present student movement in the United States is a manifestation of a generational conflict, and that generational conflicts are distinguished from class-based oppositional movements in that the roots of the former are found primarily in cultural crisis, while the latter are determined by crises in the political economy (see Mankoff and Flacks, 1971, p. 61). The question arises, how do we know that the present period is one of cultural crisis, providing the basis for a generational conflict? The answer is: "The depth and extent of student unrest in the United States and other advanced industrial societies in recent years lends credence to the view that these societies have now entered a period of cultural crisis . . . " (see Mankoff and Flacks, 1971, p. 62). In other words, the occurrence of the dependent variable is an indicator of the independent variable. In short, before one can accept this explanation, he needs independent measurements both for the degree of "crisis," or weakening of authority, or general "social malaise," and for the relative frequency of protest movements across time.

Aside from the problem just discussed, the cultural, or authority crisis hypothesis is in itself not in contradiction, of course, to the explanation offered in this study. In a period of general crisis not all dissatisfied groups form protest movements; thus, for each movement one has to specify the conditions that brought it about. It can simply

be said that in such periods the probability that protest movements will arise is greatly increased. What the theoretical framework presented in this study does is specify a level of analysis at which the formation of a movement can be measured and studied. In this sense it can be viewed as a "middle range" theory that can be integrated into a more general theory of society that will explain changes beyond the role set level. As mentioned in Chapter VI, the broad industrial, technological, and international changes that took place after World War II were taken for granted in this study. It was also specified that these changes may have affected not only other groups within the university role set, such as the faculty and the administration, but also other role sets. Therefore, this study does not preclude the possibility that a general crisis of authority took place in the United States and in other industrial societies: on the contrary, it can be included in such a general explanation.

Generally speaking, it appears that one of the problems encountered by the studies of student movements that were published in the wake of the wave of political protest in the sixties is that with a few exceptions--such as the theory of marginal elites--most of the studies use a very narrow approach and fail to tie their explanations in with theories that can explain other, non-student movements.

The generational conflict theory, and the "special characteristics of students, or youth" hypothesis, are especially weak in this respect.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study presented a theoretical approach to the study of the development of movements for political change, as well as a preliminary test of some hypotheses derived from the theory, through a study of the development of student political activity at Harvard and Wisconsin from 1930 to 1968.

The theory views society as a conglomeration of social roles, interrelated in role sets. Within each role set there is a certain distribution of decision making power, and each role group has some expectations as to its position within the decision making system. Those expectations may change when given technological, economic, demographic or natural changes outside a given role set bring about changes within the role set--such as the creation of new roles, changes in the power of one role group, changes in the pattern of interaction of one role group with the outside, changes in the composition of the role group, or changes in the centrality of the role to its occupants. Changed expectations of members of a role group with

regard to their position in the decision making system of the role set can lead to the formation of a political movement, depending on the existence of "class consciousness," on the clarity of identifiability of the opponent, the existence of alternative channels for decision making, or the existence of alternative rewards.

The empirical study attempted to specify the relationship between certain changes within the university role set and students' expectations with regard to their position in the decision making system of the role set. Specifically, it was stated that the increasing complexity and sophistication of the American industrial system, and the political-military-scientific competition between the United States and the Soviet Union have brought about the following changes within the university role set: an increasing involvement of the university in national decisions, an increasing trend towards mass higher education, a growing heterogeneity of the student body, an increase in the duration of the role of student, and an increase in the perceived necessity to go to college (these changes, for the sake of brevity, were called "structural changes"). The study sought to specify the relationship between these structural changes and changes in students' political attitudes and activity, specifically: students' acceptance of the authority exercised by other members of their role set in student affairs; students' demands for a voice in the decision making structure of their role set; students' acceptance of the <u>in loco parentis</u> concept,

as well as their image as immature citizens on the way; "class consciousness" among students; and, finally, patterns of student political activity--number of conflicts in which student organizations participated, types of issues over which those conflicts arose, and the means used by the students to achieve their goals.

The following hypotheses were formulated:

1. A rise in the prominence of the university role set, as manifested by the increasing involvement of the university in social decisions, has been associated with an increase in the number and variety of social and political issues with which student concern themselves and on which they act.
2. An increase in the student population, both in absolute numbers and as a proportion of the relevant age group, has been associated with an increase in the "class consciousness" of students.
3. A growing heterogeneity of the student population has been associated with an increase in the number and variety of the social and political issues with which students concern themselves and on which they act.
4. A growing necessity to attend college in order to succeed in life, as well as an increase in the duration of the role of student, have been associated with an increasing feeling on the part of students that they have a right to participate in the decision making structure of the university, as well as a

growing opposition to the traditional authority of the faculty and the administration over student affairs.

5. An increase in the duration of the role of student and the growing necessity to go to college have also been associated with a change in students' self-perception from one of individuals preparing themselves for citizenship and adulthood to one of full citizenship and adulthood.
6. An increase in students' feelings of their right to a voice in university and off university decisions, and the changes in their self-perception with regards to citizenship and adulthood, have been associated with an increase in their political activity.
7. An increase in student political activity has been associated with an increase in the "class consciousness" of students.

The study focused on the student movements at two universities: Harvard and Wisconsin, from 1930 to 1969. Two bodies of data were collected: one consisted of aggregate data on the structural variables, which were gathered from national statistical sources and from the documents of the two universities. The second consisted of attitudinal data, as well as information on conflicts in which students participated. These data were gathered from a content analysis of the student newspapers of Harvard and Wisconsin--the Crimson and The Daily Cardinal--the Fall and Spring

issues of every second year from 1930 to 1969. The unit of analysis in the content analysis was a conflict--any situation in which an organized group of students engages in activities designed to affect existing or projected policies in areas of concern to them either on or off campus.

The study described the changes in the structural variables, establishing that most of these changes started after the Second World War, and accelerated in the late fifties, after Sputnik 1. The changes in political attitudes and activity were described next. Among other things, it was established that while there were two periods of high political activity in both universities, namely the thirties and the sixties, the sixties were different from any previous period with respect to the expectations expressed by students with regard to their place in the university decision making system, their rejection of the traditional image of American students, their rejection of faculty and administration authority in student affairs, their expressions of "class consciousness," as well as with respect to the number and variety of issues on which students acted, the organizations that initiated political activity, the numbers of participants and the means used in conflicts.

In general, the patterns of change in both sets of variables at the two universities were the same. Differences that were found between Harvard and Wisconsin were explained by the elite nature of the Harvard student body and the

faculty and administration's awareness of this fact, which resulted in somewhat different relationships between the three than existed at Wisconsin.

As for the general nature of the relationship between the two sets of variables, the study established that gradual structural changes that started in the late forties and were accentuated in the late fifties preceded abrupt changes in student political attitudes and activity in the early sixties, accentuated in the middle and late sixties.

Although the nature of the data did not permit specification of exact statistical relationships between the different variables, a preliminary model specifying those relationships was presented.

The study indicated that the precipitating factors in the student movement of the sixties, i.e., the events that made the connection between the changes in the structural variables and the changes in the political attitudes and activity of students, were off campus political events, such as the sit-ins of blacks in the South, disarmament conferences, and, later, the Vietnam war.

It was found difficult to establish empirically two broad steps in the development of a movement as specified in the theoretical chapter, namely the appearance of attitudinal changes, and increased activity, which was to follow. It was found that changed attitudes and changed patterns of activity came at the same time. This may have been due to deficiencies in the data, but more likely, it was a

reflection of the possibility that the above two steps are not empirically separable, that they both appear at the same time, reinforcing each other.

The data collected supported the contention that the political activity of students in the sixties constituted a student movement, when movement is defined as a "group of individuals occupying the same social role, who as a group are outside the decision making structure within their role set or occupy a low position in it, who try to influence the making of one or several decisions, or try to become a prominent or exclusive part of the decision making structure themselves." The thirties, in contrast, witnessed activity in the framework of student organizations which were affiliates of adult political organizations, where students as students played only a dependent role.

Finally, the study suggested that the future of the student movement might be much like the pattern followed by the labor movement; namely, that after a period of intense activity (the sixties), activity will vary, as it will be initiated in reaction to outside precipitants or attempts within the role set to ignore student rights or to revert to the pattern of relationships that existed before the sixties. Since the student movement, in the main, did not seek an overthrow of the traditional authorities within the role set, the curve of their activity need not continue to rise. But the expectations of students with respect to their position as a group within the decision making structure

of the university have changed, and they will not revert to the traditional pattern. Thus the present--1971--period of relative inactivity does not mean a return to the "quiet" of the previous decades.

This study should be viewed as a first step towards the testing of hypotheses derivable from the theoretical approach presented in Chapter I. It should be remembered that it is a case study of one movement--the student movement in the United States in the sixties. A better understanding of the process of development of a political movement can be derived only from a comparative study of many movements, in different countries, and at different time periods. Furthermore, it should be kept in mind that this study looked at the effect "external" changes had on the student role group only; a more complete study should analyze the effects on all members of the university role set.

This study analyzed the student movement at only two universities. This presents a problem of generalizability of the findings. The problem of generalizability in a study of this kind, though, is different from that encountered in a study that tries to establish the relations between certain properties in a given population; for example, the relationship between socio-economic variables and radicalism, or activism. For such a study, Harvard and Wisconsin alone would be insufficient. For purposes of gaining an insight into the process of the development of a political movement, though, the sample used in this study is more adequate

(although not entirely satisfactory), since, as was pointed out in Chapter II, political movements involve in most cases a small part of a role group to begin with, and thus choosing two traditionally active schools is more enlightening than choosing a statistically representative sample of schools. For this type of study, it is far more important to have a good sample of movements.

This study points out, I hope, the importance of longitudinal studies--as well as some of the problems involved. For a variety of reasons, present-day social scientists have decided to leave history to the historians. One of the reasons may be problems related to the nature of the data needed and the difficulties involved in collecting them. As was seen in the previous chapters, good statistical data, even in as scientifically-minded a field as higher education, and in a statistically-oriented country like the United States, are not always available. As far as attitudinal data are concerned, the main way to collect them is through a very tedious process of content analysis, and the data collected are not amenable to quantitative manipulations as are the data gathered through survey research. Yet, if we want to understand social and political processes, and social and political change, we have to study them across time, which means that social scientists should be made more aware of history, or that historians should be made more aware of social science. This leads me to a final observation: the type of research that is called for in this type of study

is beyond the capabilities of individual researchers. The cooperative effort of many individuals is needed to make comparative studies of political movements. Most importantly, the resources and the skills of the various social and humanistic sciences should be combined.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CODING SHEETS AND ANALYSIS OF ATTITUDES

APPENDIX A

CODING SHEETS AND ANALYSIS OF ATTITUDES

Summary Sheet

One summary sheet was used for each conflict (see Figure 14). The following information was coded on the summary sheet:*

1. Starting date of conflict
2. Ending date of conflict
3. Duration of conflict
4. Total number of newspaper items appearing about conflict
5. Total number of expressed attitudes found regarding the conflict
6. Position of the newspaper in the conflict
7. Stimuli for student action (e.g., university action, action of group outside the university)
8. Connection between conflict and outside events
9. Type of issue
10. Number of participants
11. Initiating group or groups (up to five)
12. Means used by students in the conflict
13. Allies of the initiators
14. Opposition of the initiators

In addition, the purposes or formal demands of the students were recorded verbatim, and a chronological development of the conflict was outlined.

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*Detailed instructions for coding of both summary and attitude sheets can be found in a Codebook designed for the study. The Codebook is not included here because of its length, but a limited number of copies are available from the author upon request.

Attitude Sheet

One attitude sheet was used for each unit of recording (a letter, speech, editorial, or written declaration, i.e., a piece of writing containing the opinion of one person) (see Figure 13). The following information was coded on each attitude sheet:

1. The date
2. The type of article (e.g., editorial, news item)
3. The source of the attitudes (e.g., speech, interview)
4. The position of the speaker or document

Assertions regarding the following attitudes were coded on the same sheet:

5. Decision making rights of other groups with regard to the issue of conflict
6. Decision making rights of other groups in general
7. Decision making rights of students with regard to the issue of conflict
8. Decision making rights of students in general
9. Responsibility of students
10. Maturity-adulthood of students
11. Students' ability to reason and make their own decisions
12. Students' attitude towards in loco parentis regulations
13. Constitutional rights of students
14. Common problems of students
15. Power potential of students
16. Role definition of students as either active or passive
17. Self-criticism of students
18. Self-reference of students
19. The role of the university invoked by students
20. Villains mentioned by students
21. Heroes mentioned by students

Categories 16 and 17 were dropped when in the early stages of the content analysis it became clear that (1) there were very few such attitudes, and (2) they could not be reliably coded. Categories 13 and 18-21 were coded but not analyzed in this study.

Analysis of Attitudes

The categories actually used in the study were categories 5-12 and 14-15. Categories 5, 6, 9, 10, and 11 were designed as dichotomous categories, and categories 12, 14, and 15 were dichotomized in the analysis stage as follows: in number 12 (Column 31 on the attitude sheet), 1 and 2 were collapsed; in number 14 (Column 35), 2 and 3 were collapsed; and in 15 (Column 36), 2 and 3 were combined.

Categories 7 (Column 21) and 8 (Column 23) were divided into four sub-categories.

The centrality of most of the above attitudes (i.e., whether the attitude expressed was the main point made by the author or speaker, or a peripheral comment) was also recorded. However, this distinction was not utilized in the analysis, because in the overwhelming majority of cases the attitude expressed was central to the argument.

After the data had been coded, the information was transferred to computer cards. Each of the above ten attitudes was assigned a numerical value as follows: for each of the dichotomous categories, a positive assertion was assigned a value of +1.00, and a negative assertion was assigned a value of -1.00. Thus, if 2 was marked on Column 27, it received a value of +1.00; if 1 was marked, it received a -1.00. For categories 7 (Column 21) and 8 (Column 23), the following values were assigned:

1 (students should have no rights)	-1.00
2 (students should be consulted)	+0.25

3 (students should be represented) +0.75
4 (students should make the decision by themselves) +1.00

The above values are somewhat arbitrary; the two extreme values were assigned following the pattern of all the dichotomous variables. The values of 2 and 3 were assigned on the assumption that demands for consultation reflect a demand for a low level of decision making power, while demands for representation reflect a demand for a high level of decision making power.

Once all the information had been put on cards, the computer was instructed to compute a numerical value for each attitude in each conflict, in order that the dominant attitude or assertion for each category could be determined.

The formula for this value is $\frac{\sum v}{n}$, where

v is the value of the attitude on each sheet in which such an attitude was found, and

n is the total number of attitude sheets in which the given attitude was found in any given conflict. Thus, if there were 20 attitude sheets for a given conflict, and in three of them there was some reference to the decision making rights of students in general, and the values of these references were +0.25, +0.75, and +0.25, the value given to this attitude in this conflict would be $\frac{+0.25 + 0.75 + 0.25}{3} = 0.41$. Since 0.41 is closest to 0.25,

the value assigned to subcategory 2, it would be determined that in this conflict the dominant assertion would be that students should be consulted with regard to the decision under conflict.

What is being measured in the above procedure is (1) the absence or presence of a given attitude or category in a given conflict, and (2) in cases where a given expressed attitude is present, which subcategory of it is dominant. Any value other than zero indicates the presence of some expression regarding a given attitude in a conflict;* whether that attitude is positive or negative, or whether the assertion is a high- or low-level one (for attitudes 7 and 8), is determined by the summary measure just presented.

The absence or presence of a given category in a given conflict was considered rather than the relative frequency of its mention because it could not be assumed that if, for example, a given attitude was mentioned five times in Conflict A and only once in Conflict B, in the former the feeling on the part of the students was five times stronger.** It should be noted that this method leads to a conservative estimate of the differences between the

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*Unless, of course, there are equal numbers of positive and negative assertions, which would cancel one another out. However, this occurred only once in the present study.

**See for a discussion of the merits of a presence-absence analysis, George, 1959.

thirties and the sixties, since in the latter the frequency of appearance of any given attitude in any given conflict was usually higher.

APPENDIX B

SCALES USED IN CONSTRUCTION OF FIGURES IN CHAPTER VI

Col. 1 — SCHOOL
1 Wisconsin
2 Harvard

Col. 2-4 — CONF. # 000-999
_____

Col. 5-6 — YEAR
_____

Col. 7-10 — DATE 0000-9990
_____

Col. 11-13 — ITEM # 000-999
_____

Col. 14 — TYPE ITEM
1 Letter
2 Editorial
3 News Item
4 Column
5 Background
6 Other

Col. 15 — SOURCE IF NEWS
0 Not News
1 Speech
2 Interview
3 Writ.Declar.
4 Interpret.

Col. 16 — POSITION
0 Unknown
1 Support
2 Oppose
3 Q. Support
4 Q. Oppose

Col. 17 — DEC,RTS,OTHERS
0 No Reference
1 Have Right
2 Do Not Have

Col. 18 — Centrality
0 No Reference
1 Indirect
2 Direct

Col. 19 — DEC,RTS,OTH.GEN.
0 No Reference
1 Have Rights
2 Do Not Have

Col. 20 — Centrality
0 No Reference
1 Indirect
2 Direct

Col. 21 — DEC,RTS,STUDENTS
0 No Reference
1 No Rights
2 Consulted
3 Represented
4 Make Selves

Col. 22 — Centrality
0 No Reference
1 Indirect
2 Direct

Col. 23 — DEC,RTS,STUDENTS,GEN
0 No Reference
1 No Rights
2 Consulted
3 Represented
4 Make Selves

Col. 24 — Centrality
0 No Reference
1 Indirect
2 Direct

Col. 25 — RESPONSIBILITY
0 No Reference
1 Not Resp.
2 Resp.,Trusted

Col. 26 — Centrality
0 No Reference
1 Indirect
2 Direct

Col. 27 — MATURITY-ADULTHOOD
0 No Reference
1 Not Mature-Adult
2 Mature-Adult

Col. 28 — Centrality
0 No Reference
1 Indirect
2 Direct

Col. 29 — ABIL,REAS,MAKE,DEC,
0 No Reference
1 No Ability
2 Ability

Col. 30 — Centrality
0 No Reference
1 Indirect
2 Direct

Col. 31 — IN LOCO PARENTIS
0 No Reference
1 Acceptable
2 Some Changes
3 Not Accept.

Col. 32 — Centrality
0 No Reference
1 Indirect
2 Direct

Col. 33 — CONSTITUTIONAL.RT
0 No Reference
1 No Rights
2 Limited Rights
3 Full Rights

Col. 34 — Centrality
0 No Reference
1 Indirect
2 Direct

Col. 35 — COMMON PROBLEMS
0 No Reference
1 No Com.Prob
2 Spec.Com.Prob
3 Common Probs

Col. 36 — POWER POTENTIAL
0 No Reference
1 Small,Powerls
2 Fairly Large
3 Large;Solve ProbsComAct.

Col. 37 — ACT-PAS ROLEDEF
0 No Reference
1 Passive
2 Active

Col. 38 — CRITICISM
0 No Reference
1 ApathDontCare
2 Too Active

Col. 39 — SELF-REFERENCE
0 No Reference
1 Youth
2 Intellectual
3 Educ.Par.Pop
4 Citizens
5 Adults
6 Americans
7 Future Leader
8 OTHER

Col. 40-41 — U.ROLEINVOKED 00-15
00 No Reference
01 Train Minds
02 Prep.f.Career
03 Prep.f.Cit.
04 For.Dis.Ideas
05 For.Dis.SocProb
06 Opp.Person.Dev.
07 Ave.Mobility
08 M.PeopleX.Ideas
09 Innovations
10 Make US Powerf.
11 Serve Community
12 Train Leaders
13 EraseClassDiff
14 Relevant to Soc
15 OTHER

Col. 42-3 — VILLAINS 00-18
00 No Reference
01 Individual
02 Camp.Organizat.
03 Faculty
04 Administration
05 Trustees
06 University
07 Pol Party
08 St.Gov.Agency
09 Fed.Gov.Agency
10 Police
11 Military
12 Indus.Company
13 Mil-Indus-Compl.
14 Older Generation
15 Establishment
16 Capitalism
17 Racism
18 OTHER

Col. 44-45 — HEROES 00-12
00 No Reference
01 St.onCampus
02 St.onOth.Camp.
03 St.Org.onCamp.
04 St.Org.Oth.Camp
05 Fac.on Campus
06 Fac.onOth.Camp.
07 Off.on Campus
08 Pub.Off.orAgen
09 Non-U. Organ.
10 Social Group
11 Ind.Grp.Oth.Soc
12 OTHER

Figure 13. Sample attitude coding sheet

DEMANDS

DISSATISFACTIONS

PERCEPTION OF IMPORTANCE

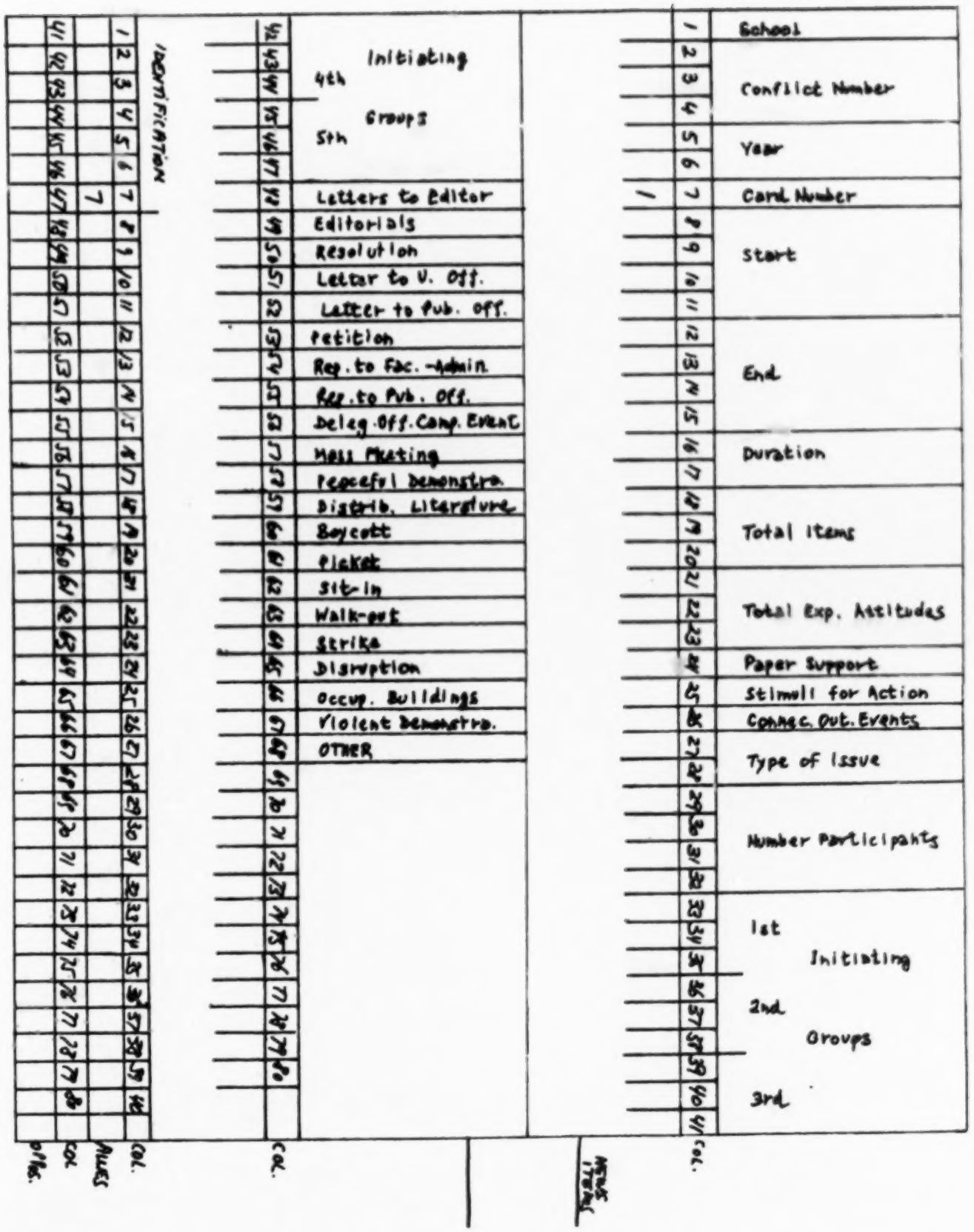

Figure 14. Sample summary coding sheet

PURPOSES- FORMAL DEMANDS

SHORT OUTLINE OF CONFLICT (INT. OUTCOME)

REMARKS

APPENDIX B

SCALES USED IN CONSTRUCTION OF FIGURES IN CHAPTER VI

Figures 6-10 in Chapter VI represent the number of conflicts in which a given attitude was mentioned each year. The height of the bar representing each attitude was determined in the following manner:

1. Student Demands for More Decision Making Power

Two main types of assertions are included here: first, assertions that students have decision making rights in the specific area under dispute, and second, that students have decision making rights in general, not just in the area involved in the conflict. Within each category, there are three degrees of demands for decision making power: demands for consultation, demands for representation, and demands for exclusive decision making rights.

As mentioned in Appendix A, the following numerical values were assigned to the three degrees:

demands for consultation	+0.25
demands for participation	+0.75
demands for exclusive decision-making rights	+1.00

For construction of the figures, the above values were used for demands regarding a specific issue involved in a conflict, while for demands for decision making power in general, the above values were doubled, on the assumption that demands for decision making power in general represent a higher level of expectations than demands for rights in a specific area.

For construction of the figures, all six subcategories were combined. Thus, in a given year there might be one conflict where a demand for consultation in the specific area was mentioned (0.25); another conflict where a demand for representation in general was asserted (0.75 x 2 = 1.50) as well as a demand for exclusive decision making power in the specific issue (1.00). The bar for that year would be the equivalent of 2.75.

The height equivalences are as follows:

2. Student Rejection of Control by Other Groups

Two main types of assertions are included here: assertions that other groups have no right to make decisions for students in a specific area, and assertions that they have no right to make decisions for students in any student affairs. As mentioned in Appendix A, each such assertion was assigned the numerical value of +1.00. However, for

construction of the figures, the value of assertions regarding the right of other groups to make decisions for students in student affairs in general was doubled, on the assumption that these represent a higher level of rejection of control by other groups. For the construction of the figures, the two types of assertions were combined. Thus, in a given year, there might be a conflict in which one statement was found rejecting others' authority in a specific area (1.00) and a conflict in which a statement rejecting their power in general was found (2.00). The bar for that year would be the equivalent of 3.00.

The height equivalences for these assertions are the same as for assertions of student decision making rights.

3. Student Rejection of Their Traditional Image

Four types of assertions are included here: assertions that students are mature and adult, assertions that students are able to make their own decisions, assertions that students are responsible and can be trusted, and assertions that the concept of *in loco parentis* is not acceptable. Each assertion was assigned the value of +1.00, and all four types of assertions were combined in the construction of the figures. Thus, if there were four conflicts in a given year, and in each conflict one of the four assertions was found, the bar for that year would be the equivalent of 4.00.

The height equivalence here is as follows:

1.00

□

4. Class Consciousness

Two types of assertions are included here: assertions that students have the power potential to accomplish their goals, and assertions that students share common problems. Each assertion was assigned the value of +1.00. In Figure 8, each type of assertion is represented by a separate bar, according to the following height equivalence:

1.00

□

APPENDIX C

INTERCODER RELIABILITY

APPENDIX C

INTERCODER RELIABILITY

The content analysis was done by Barbara Swirski, my wife, and myself. Each reader coded about half the years in each of the two universities. A pretest of the coding procedure was run on the Michigan State News during January and February of 1970. In March of 1970 the coding procedure was pretested on the Daily Cardinal. Finally, in June of 1970, about two weeks were spent again testing the content analysis procedures and checking for reliability. Thus, quite a substantial amount of time was devoted to testing the procedure before the actual coding was begun.

During the pretest stage, the reliability of entire years was checked to determine if the coders agreed on the items recorded on the summary sheets. This procedure was later abandoned, out of two considerations. First of all, it was sometimes difficult to determine whether or not a student action conformed to our definition of conflict. Since it was thought preferable to gather more information than was necessary for the analysis rather than less information, it was decided that whenever either coder was in doubt over whether a particular action constituted a

conflict, he should record it as a conflict. At the end of each coding day the conflicts recorded for the day were discussed, and it was determined which ones to consider as conflicts. The procedure also had the advantage of giving both coders complete exposure to all material coded.

The second reason for not continuing reliability checks on entire years was that this would have been a very expensive and time-consuming procedure, since some years required more than a week to code.

The reliability checks focused on attitudes. Two methods were used to measure the reliability of attitudes. Under the first procedure tried, after one reader had coded an entire conflict, the second reader was instructed to read all issues during the time period in which that conflict occurred and to code the conflict. Since agreement on summary sheet items was very high (over 90%) and the procedure, like the previous one, proved very expensive and time-consuming, a second method was devised. After a given conflict had been coded, a second set of attitude sheets was prepared for the second reader. The identification items were coded (school, conflict number, item number, date, and type of item). All the second reader had to do was to locate the appropriate units of recording and code the attitudes.

Intercoder reliability was calculated in two ways. The formula for Method A was:

$$\frac{T - D}{T}$$, where

T represents the total number of coding decisions checked for reliability, and

D represents the total number of coding disagreements.

The measures of intercoder reliability are presented in Table 31 below:

TABLE 31.--Intercoder reliability for attitudes coded at Wisconsin and Harvard, calculated by Method A.

	Total Decisions	Disagreements	Reliability
Wisconsin	1488	21	98.6%
Harvard	1004	0	100.0%

As can be seen, disagreements were few and intercoder reliability was extremely high.

It has been noted that few attitudes were found, so that in most cases "0-No Reference" was coded. Because of this fact it was decided to check the reliability of the cases in which at least one coder had coded an attitude other than 0. The following formula was then used:

$$\frac{A - D}{A}$$, where

A represents the total number of cases in which at least one coder had marked a subcategory other than 0, and

D represents the number of cases in which the coders differed over the coding of an attitude.

The results of Method B can be seen in Table 32 below:

TABLE 32.--Intercoder reliability for attitudes coded at Wisconsin and Harvard, calculated by Method B.

	Total Attitudes Marked	Disagreements	Reliability
Wisconsin	112	21	81%
Harvard	13	0	100%

Though intercoder reliability is lower when calculated in this way, it is still quite high.